

# IN THESE TIMES

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50 Cents

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Photo by Paul Sequeira



Photos/Mel Rosenthal

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# THE INSIDE STORY

Guest column by Howard M. Wachtel & Michael Moffitt



Rep. John J. Cavanaugh

## House balks at IMF bank bailout

The "Bankers' Relief Act" is what the *Wall Street Journal* calls a piece of legislation that was approved in late February by the House of Representatives. Otherwise known as the Witteveen Facility, this bill authorizes a \$1.7 billion American contribution toward a \$10 billion fund to expand the International Monetary Fund's capacity to lend to countries that have accumulated debt and whose current trade imbalances limit their ability to pay back the debt.

The Witteveen Facility, named after the IMF's managing director, has been introduced as a beneficent way of bailing out less developed countries whose debt has become so massive that the spectre of default arises. But on the other side of the debtor-creditor coin are the huge loans made by private New York-based banks to Third World countries in the early '70s.

The principal beneficiaries of the Witteveen Facility will be the big banks, who will be bailed out of their excessive financial speculation of the early '70s by the American taxpayer. The U.S., the other industrialized nations, and the OPEC countries will contribute to a \$10 billion expansion of the IMF that in turn will lend the money to debt-ridden poor countries in order to meet their obligations to Chase Manhattan, Citibank, Bankers Trust and the rest. Like the earlier Lockheed and Penn Central bail-outs, the big banks will be provided with an indirect subsidy—this time through the formal mechanisms of the IMF.

### Recycled petrodollars.

This debt dilemma became critical after 1972 when the rise in oil prices and the international recession in the industrial countries created massive trade imbalances for the Third World countries. The general inflation in food and manufactured products in the industrial countries contributed substantially to higher import prices for the commodities Third World countries import from the West and Japan.

The 1974-75 recession in the industrial countries delivered the *coup de grace* by undermining the growth in export earnings upon which Third World countries depend to finance their imports of basic necessities. The consequence was a huge trade imbalance that forced Third World countries to go heavily into debt to avoid bringing their growth to a standstill.

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The 86 less developed countries (LDCs) that import oil and other necessities now have an accumulated foreign debt of about \$200 billion—an increase of over \$100 billion since 1972. About \$80 billion of this debt is owed to private U.S.-based multinational banks. Many Third World countries have debts nearly as large as their GNPs and must surrender anywhere from 25 percent to 40 percent of their precious export earnings just to pay off old debts. In another year or two, the situation will be even more grave, and another international recession could well trigger a string of defaults in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The enormous expansion of the U.S. banking system into foreign endeavors occurred during this same period, fueled by the huge petrodollar deposits of the OPEC countries into New York-based banks. About half of the \$200 billion of OPEC's surplus earnings from petroleum exports have been recycled through the private American banking system.

These funds have been recycled through offshore banking havens and the Eurodollar markets to escape taxation and regulation. Offshore banking havens have sprouted in places like the Cayman Islands, the Bahamas, Panama, Taiwan and Singapore. In the Bahamas there is now one bank for every 800 inhabitants. Assets of U.S. banks in those countries amount to more than two and a half times their combined GNP.

### Free trade zone in Manhattan.

The multinationalization of U.S. banking is a comparatively recent phenomenon. In 1965 only 11 U.S. banks had branches operating in foreign countries. Ten years later, 125 U.S. banks had 732 branches operating in 59 foreign countries. The flight of capital from the U.S. has clearly affected the tax receipts that local government jurisdictions depend on to provide essential services to American citizens. New York City officials estimate that they have lost about 12 percent of their tax revenue from banks because of the banks' offshore activity. The average tax rate paid by the major multinational banks comes to about the same as the oil companies who have come under attack for their ability to avoid taxes.

The banking situation has become so ludicrous that the State of New York is now considering legislation that would establish a banking "free trade zone" in Manhattan to attract the banks back with the lure of no taxation on their foreign activities conducted out of its Manhattan "free trade zone." The major New York City banks, who conceived of this scheme, contend that "neither the city nor the state would lose any tax money since the foreign loan activities that would be exempted from taxation have already moved out of New York," according to the *New York Times*.

New York's Citibank and Chase Manhattan are now earning about 75 percent of their profits from foreign operations. For Citibank, 30 percent of their earnings are from LDCs. For every dollar of Citibank's loans to U.S. enterprises, they have loaned 50 cents to either Brazil or Mexico and 13 percent of their profits come from operations in Brazil alone. What worries the banks is that a country with large liabilities will default and that is why they are pushing so hard for a safety net under the auspices of the IMF.

### IMF demands austerity.

One example of how IMF funds are used to indirectly subsidize private bank debt is the case of Zaire. Since 1975, according to the Senate Foreign Relations committee, public creditors have provided Zaire with \$615 million of debt relief and new credits while private banks have provided no debt relief even though they pledged to do so. Zaire received the IMF credits and used the funds to pay off private bank debt. Zaire, according to the Senate report, "could not have repaid the banks if

the IMF standbys had not been granted and other official creditors had refused to reschedule."

There are also serious political costs for countries who are forced to go hat-in-hand to the IMF and the private banks to seek debt relief. One country after another that has found itself in this situation has been forced to mortgage its political sovereignty, to use former Mayor Beame's expression, in order to obtain additional lines of credit. Countries like Peru, Egypt, and Jamaica have been forced to adopt austerity programs of conservative fiscal and monetary policies in order to meet the bankers' standards of credit-worthiness.

For countries which are already poor, this involves a belt-tightening that inevitably increases unemployment, reduces social service spending and reduces the living standards of the majority of the population. Not surprisingly, this usually involves cracking down on trade unions and postponing social reforms, which frequently require political repression and human rights violations to succeed.

### Treasury turns deaf ear.

When the House authorized the U.S. contribution to the Witteveen Facility, Rep. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) attached an amendment requiring the U.S. representative to the IMF to oppose all Witteveen Facility transactions that "contribute to the deprivation of basic human needs...and to the violation of basic human rights." Though the Carter administration opposed the human rights amendments attached to the Witteveen authorization, the administration's floor managers clearly realized that the whole bill was doomed to defeat without them.

A second amendment, offered by Rep. John Cavanaugh (D-Neb.), which also passed, was designed to prevent future Zaires by requiring "comparability" of treatment between private and public creditors in future debt reschedulings. The administration reluctantly had to accept these amendments in order to ensure the passage of the entire bill. Their strategy is to try to defeat these amendments in the Senate and eliminate them in conference.

An official Treasury department spokesman, in a telephone interview the day after the vote in the House, called the Harkin human rights amendment "inappropriate for IMF decisions," as well as "damaging and undesirable."

"We might as well close the IMF," he said, if we eliminate the IMF-imposed "restraints" on borrowing countries. Throughout the congressional deliberations on the Witteveen Facility the Treasury has stonewalled on the issues of human rights, human needs, and bank bailout.

The Treasury and IMF have turned a deaf ear to alternative ways of relieving the debt predicament of the LDCs without subjecting them to austerity programs. Sweden has forgiven Third World debts without causing any serious financial instability in the world. Rather than imposing austerity measures, the IMF could encourage countries to diversify their exports to mitigate their dependence on one crop or one mineral and be more selective on import restrictions by restricting imports of luxury goods, as Jamaica has done.

The ball is now in Congress' court to reorient administration policy toward Third World debt. The House has responded well and now it is up to the Senate.

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## CITIES

## Carter: a tidbit for cities

By David Moberg

**I**N RESPONSE TO THE CRIES FOR help—and the votes that elected him—from the dangerously sinking older cities of the country, Jimmy Carter played lifeguard last week and tossed a few tiny life preservers in their direction.

On the whole they were grateful, even though they realized it would take much more for any of them to swim strongly, especially since the tide of federal policies for decades has favored the suburbs and the cities of the "Sun Belt" at the expense of northern core industrial centers.

Cautious and jumbled as the Carter urban plan was, it was still the first clear statement from a recent American president that the older cities should be saved and resuscitated and not just allowed to drown. Even those who thought it committed far too little money or omitted important measures, which includes virtually everyone representing a major urban constituency, hoped that the Carter statement would at least offer an opening for more forceful action in the future.

Carter's plan seemed to have been calculated to give a little to everyone and not much to anyone. This careful orchestration of constituencies to avoid conflicts is likely to fall apart as Congress slices up the plan for piecemeal consideration by different committees, yielding final results even less coherent than Carter's proposal.

**Difficult under best circumstances.**

Urban policy is hard to enact under the best of circumstances, because even though 70 percent of Americans live in urban areas, there is not a united constituency for any particular approach. Even the "urban crisis" is hard to define, although many of the symptoms are clear—unemployment, declining average income, poor education, high crime, deteriorating buildings. There are problems specific to cities—streets, sewers, subways, for example. But urban difficulties are also manifestations of the overall structural and cyclical tendencies of capitalist society laid out in spatial terms: social class differences or racial discrimination show themselves in cities as specific kinds of neighborhoods. Tinkering with the cities in any truly effective way consequently requires a shift of the whole society's resources in favor of the poor, hardly an easy task.

Also, policies that are on the surface not especially connected with the life of cities can have devastating consequences. For example, investment tax credits that are repeatedly used to stimulate economic activity encourage capitalists to abandon existing facilities prematurely and to build new ones—usually shifting from the northern cities to the suburbs or the South. Also, according to Carter's Urban and Regional Group Report, "tax laws allowing homeowners to deduct interest and property taxes provide a subsidy to the middle and high income brackets equal in amount to the dollar value of several of the most important aid programs aimed at the poor. Further, in favoring owners over renters, these tax laws tend to promote development patterns away from rather than toward cities."

At least since the New Deal federal policies have worked against the big cities. Highway construction and Federal Housing Administration loans spurred the flight from the cities after World War II. Federal military spending has greatly favored the Sun Belt economies. When urban riots pushed Lyndon Johnson to promise a Great Society, his programs were less a plan for urban redevelopment than an attempt to pacify angry blacks.

Anti-urban biases in federal policy were never reversed or even balanced by the poverty projects at their fullest. Then the Nixon and Ford administrations eliminated virtually all of these programs and



*Carter offers neighborhood groups a pittance for rehabilitation, but big city mayors are already fuming over any move that threatens their power.*

instituted revenue sharing with formulas that effectively redirected federal money away from not only most needy cities but also the poor within those cities.

Migration out of the central cities and out of the "Snow Belt" accelerated during the late '60s and early '70s, removing mainly younger, better educated and more affluent individuals and consequently putting greater financial strain on the cities.

Carter's recognition that this must be redressed, including the gesture of requiring all future federal programs to be accompanied by an urban impact analysis, is consequently a tiny step in the right direction.

Neighborhood groups, such as National Peoples Action, argue that impact analyses should be taken further to include a neighborhood impact analysis so that funds for cities are not simply concentrated in the downtown business areas, as they fear is happening already with the year-old Urban Development Action Grants.

Carter's plan also provides an incentive—but only funded for \$200 million—to states that draw up plans for saving the cities.

**Republican program.**

The Jimmy Carter who campaigned for President with promises of listening to city problems has become another Jimmy Carter in office. He has heard demands to make fighting inflation his first priority and he still hopes to balance the budget. Consequently, his urban plan pledges

very little new money—an estimated \$734 million in the first year. (Overall the plan would authorize \$10.5 billion in spending plus \$3.4 billion in tax incentives and \$6 billion in guaranteed loan authority in the first two years, but not all of that is new.) It is, in many ways, as close to a Republican plan as could be served up by a Democratic President who must return to the voters of the big cities to be re-elected.

Carter has also heard the demands for encouraging "business confidence." He has also heard—and certainly shares—a prevalent skepticism among even liberal politicians about the effectiveness of public action based on a misreading of the lessons of Johnson's War on Poverty. Consequently, the urban program has a strong commitment to the role of private capital in redeveloping the cities, not by imposing new social obligations on capital but rather by offering incentives and enticements. Even such a long-time advocate of public action and employment as AFSCME (the state, county and municipal workers union) is pushing hard for private business investment now. As one AFSCME spokesman said, "This is a capitalistic society and we've got to work with it."

The main way of working with it in the Carter plan is the National Development Bank, which would guarantee loans up to \$11 billion through 1981 to businesses locating in distressed areas. There would be an additional \$275 million in development grants available through two dif-

ferent agencies, an additional 5 percent investment tax credit for business in hard-hit cities, and extension of a tax credit for hiring the hard-core unemployed.

**Linking privileges to performance.**

Serious questions about such a strategy have been raised by studies, such as those of MIT urban economist Bennett Harrison, that show tax incentives to be weak influences on business relocation. Larry Rosser, director of the Woodstock Institute, a research and consulting group, said, "I'm generally pretty cynical about tax incentives. Financial institutions generally don't pay taxes and few corporations pay substantial taxes. It's not a very good way to get them to change their behavior."

Rosser, along with progressive neighborhood banker Ron Gryzwinski, proposes linking the privileges granted to bank and savings and loan stockholders through their public charters to the investment performance of such financial institutions in needy urban neighborhoods. Although the Carter administration continues to support a variety of measures to combat bank redlining, which may include such linkage, the failure to include them in the urban policy statement does not indicate any strong emphasis on imposing social obligations on capitalists.

One of the most glaring omissions from Carter's plan is any attempt to control runaway factories and businesses. Many European capitalist governments have the power to review and restrain movement of businesses out of communities. Clearly that would have been one of the most powerful tools available to save the older cities. Likewise, there was no provision for community or worker takeover of failing or abandoned businesses, such as the Youngstown steel plant purchases now being studied under a grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In several important ways, however, Carter is shifting government plans away from the *laissez faire* revenue sharing of the Nixon-Ford years by attempting to "target" federal programs to the most deprived cities and neighborhoods, a policy slightly reminiscent of the Great Society categorical grants.

For instance, Carter proposes retaining the countercyclical aid to cities, designed to help city coffers hurt by business downturns, but in a revised form that targets areas with above-average unemployment. Also, \$150 million in social services, such as day care or help for the aged would be targeted to poverty areas. However, politicians from suburbs, small towns, rural areas and Sun Belt cities will certainly fight such targeting that would favor distressed cities.

In a related vein, Carter advocates giving distressed cities priority in building new federal facilities and in procurement of federal government supplies, redressing the suburban and Sun Belt biases in current federal spending. Minority businesses would also receive preferences in the Carter plan.

**Piecemeal aid.**

Although most urban representatives still urge large-scale public employment projects, even if they now lean toward encouraging private investment, Carter proposed spending only \$3 billion over three years for "soft" public works, such as street and building maintenance, that would provide 54,000 jobs. Another proposal would allocate \$150 million for city park and recreation improvements. Spread across the country, such plans will have minimal impact in any one city.

Another traditional mainstay of urban development proposals, housing construction, was given little attention. An additional \$150 million would be made available for housing rehabilitation, but Na-

*Continued on page 18.*



## IN THE NATION

## WOMEN

## Toss-up for ERA in Illinois

By Jane Melnick

CHICAGO

BETTY FRIEDAN CAME BACK TO her home state of Illinois for Chicago's famous St. Patrick's Day parade to campaign for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Despite her presence and an extensive campaign by pro-ERA forces to influence primary elections held March 21, it remains unclear whether Illinois will ratify the ERA.

In Alton, Ill., the home of Phyllis Schlafly, a liberal pro-ERA legislator, Jim McPike, won resoundingly in his primary contest. Schlafly and her anti-ERA forces, including the Catholic church, had worked hard to unseat McPike.

But in other areas the results were less clear. A few strong Chicago independent Democrats, ERA backers, were defeated by machine candidates (see accompanying story), but the successful machine candidates were also for the ERA.

The machine has come around to the ERA in response to the national convention boycott of unratified states. Chicago stands to lose an estimated \$20 million over the next five years if Illinois does not ratify the ERA. New cancellations keep "rolling in," a NOW spokeswoman says. In mid-March the American Association of Higher Education, which has convened in Chicago for the last 45-years, voted not to return. This cancellation alone represents a loss of a million dollars to the city's convention business.

Other pro-ERA candidates lost, including some that the ERA forces had campaigned for. ERA supporters figured that

they broke even overall. Maureen Rogran, a NOW member who worked on the election campaign, said that the election results "do not constitute an ERA defeat, but rather a display of incumbency. In general, when pro-ERA people were incumbents they held, when they were challenging incumbents they were defeated."

Although the election results are inconclusive, ERA supporters are hopeful that with the endorsement of the Chicago machine and the continuing pressure for passage, they will be able to win the three-fifths majority required in both houses of the Illinois legislature (one of the few states to require such a majority).

Illinois Gov. James Thompson, a Republican with presidential aspirations, has been sympathetic as well as frustrating to ERA backers. He has expressed support for the amendment, yet was also found backing some anti-ERA candidates the week before the primary.

ERA activists say that they will continue putting pressure on Thompson and the state legislators until passage is secured. "I don't want to see my life's work go down the drain," Friedan told an ERA fundraiser March 17. This is "the year of emergency," she said. "It is time for all women who have benefitted from the gains we have all made to pay our dues; for all people of good will in this country to do as much as they can, not as little as they can."

The ERA, Friedan continued, is "not only the symbol, but also the substance of all that we have won. Do you think they will fight for rape victims, for displaced homemakers in the legislature, to enforce laws against sex discrimination,



Carol Becker

*The ERA, feminist Betty Friedan warns, is "not only the symbol, but also the substance of all that we have won."*

if the ERA isn't passed? Do you think we have a prayer of getting abortion and decent childcare? Consciousness is a very fragile thing.... How else do you think that the women who won the vote in 1920 could have been so blotted out by the mid-1950s?"

"I won't contemplate the possibilities if the ERA is blocked," she concluded, "of 55 years of so many women's work going down the drain.... The ERA and all it protects is so much more than the Panama Canal.... We are not going to be at the mercy of the politicians. What do

they do: tell us at a luncheon they're for the ERA and then go endorse anti-ERA candidates the same day. Do they think we're dumb? Do they think we're stupid?"

"We won't forgive, we won't forget. The economic boycott will not go away. We have got to show the power of the great political majority we are, we have got to show the political bosses.... If we show muscle here, if we move to a new gear of emergency, the glazed eyes of the powerful men will open. It will go over the top in the other states.... Illinois is the key."

## ELECTIONS

## Chicago machine remains strong after Daley

By Steve Askin

CHICAGO

WEAKENED DEMOCRATIC machine, scarred by the internal faction fighting that followed Richard J. Daley's death, proved more than a match for the independent Democrats here on primary election day March 21.

There were only a few close races, with the Democratic and Republican choices for governor and U.S. Senate facing no major opponents. Voter turnout neared a record low.

Independent incumbent state legislators lost every contest in Chicago: two races in the north lakeshore middle class stronghold and two in outlying areas of more recent independent strength. Among those defeated was sophomore State Rep. Mike Holewinski, whose two previous victories among white ethnic voters on the northwest side—where the machine had never before been beat—led one local journalist to dub him "the great hope of the foundering independent movement."

One major anti-machine advance came in southeast Chicago's 30th district, a racially and ethnically diverse (though segregated) working class area usually thought of as machine turf. That winner was Miriam Balanoff, a neighborhood lawyer whose campaign, organized by activists around Steelworkers Fight Back, had only tenuous ties to the independent politics movement. Challenging the incumbents for "voting against the interests of work-

ing people" and for their poor records on consumer issues, Balanoff eschewed the traditional independent's good government concerns and down-played her differences with the machine incumbents on such issues as the ERA (which she supports) and the death penalty (she's against it).

In a district where 18,000 steelworkers earn their livelihoods, Balanoff spoke against the combination of import quotas and tax breaks that both the companies and the United Steelworkers union national leadership claim is necessary to save the industry. "When you give tax relief to big companies," she argued, "the burden falls on working people." She said Illinois should, instead, enact restrictions on the "right" of companies to relocate similar to those contained in a bill now before the Ohio legislature.

"The steel companies have grown rich on our labor," Balanoff told one group of supporters. "They have no right to run out when profits go down a little."

Balanoff, who lost by 300 votes when she sought the seat two years ago, won by about 600 this time, running second.

Illinois' cumulative voting system has made a state house seat the easiest office for an independent to seek. Two candidates are nominated in each party's primary, three elected in November. Voters get three votes which they may divide, or cast for one candidate as a "bullet."

Last time around Balanoff scored best in white steelworker neighborhoods where her family is well known. (Her

brother-in-law, Jim Balanoff, is a Fight-back leader and the area's USW district director.) This time she lost ground among whites—in part because the machine, caught off guard by her strong 1976 showing, prepared better and fought harder—but was able to translate support from black community and labor leaders into first place showings in some black neighborhoods that were hardly touched by her last campaign.

Divided independents bested an equally divided machine in another southside district, providing the only other anti-machine victory. An endorsement from the Independent Voters of Illinois stamped Carol Mosely Baun as the "official" independent candidate, but some IVI leaders bolted to back Barbara Flynn Currie, the only white in a ten-candidate field, "because a black independent can't win." (The district is at least three-fourths black, but white residents—clustered around the University of Chicago—vote in large numbers and are more apt to oppose the machine.) Braun and Currie fought each other much as they fought the regulars, but narrowly won the two Democratic slots when machine forces divided between three candidates.

There was more disunity among machine Democrats than at any time in recent history. The few independent victories (Balanoff's and those of a pair of newcomers in an adjoining district with a high concentration of independent voters) came in races where the machine divided.

But the independents were even weak-

er, and in no shape to challenge party bosses in the mayoral contest that looms 11 months ahead.

In Daley's last campaign, 1975, the major challenger, Alderman William Singer, announced his candidacy 14 months before the election and was readying his campaign long before that. (It may be symptomatic of the weakness of independents that this year Singer, the erstwhile foe of backroom politics, sought slating by the regulars to run for the U.S. Senate against Republican Charles Percy, then declined to wage a primary fight when the machine picked someone else.) Today, there aren't even rumblings of an independent campaign for mayor.

Though the city's population is about 40 percent black (and, with Latinos, may be more than half non-white) a black challenge for the mayoralty is even more remote. Well-known black politicians have run in each of the last two mayoral primaries but never received more than 11 percent of the votes.

Balanoff's labor activist backers speak of her campaign as a first step toward creating a working class independent politics with a much broader base than that of the city's existing reform movement, which is overwhelmingly white and middle class. But they admit that much more work must be done in South Chicago before they will be strong enough to spread such a movement through the city.

*Steve Askin is a reporter in Chicago.*



## LABOR

# Contract vote ends mine strike

Though the miners approved the new contract, problems in the coalfields will continue.

By Dan Marshall

**A**FTER RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTING a new three-year contract that may create as many problems in the coalfields as it solves, striking members of the United Mine Workers union headed back to work beginning March 27. The settlement, approved by about 57 percent of the union's rank and file, ended a 103-day walkout that prompted the layoff of almost 25,000 industrial workers and provoked the first major domestic crisis for the Carter administration.

The return to work was delayed initially by picket lines of mine construction workers—UMW members who build mine shafts and coal processing plants and negotiate separately with the Associated Bituminous Contractors. Since the construction workers had not reached an agreement by the time other miners were scheduled to go back, they kept about 18,000 miners idled in Illinois, Indiana and western Kentucky.

On March 28 bargainers achieved a tentative mine-construction settlement, based on the earlier contract, which was okayed by the union's bargaining council several days later. The 10,000 construction workers are expected to ratify it on April 2.

Press reports and IN THESE TIMES interviews indicate that very few miners are satisfied with the new contract between the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). They ratified it primarily because of two factors: rising economic pressures on miners and their families as a result of the long strike and the realization that the union's current top leadership probably could not win any more. Miners also take solace in the fact that they compelled the operators to drop some of their more extreme demands.

"Although the agreement falls short of our expectations, the rank and file can take a lot of credit for blocking management efforts to destroy our union," Jack Perry, president of UMW District 17 in southern West Virginia, told reporters. "To that extent, miners have won a major victory."

In terms of management concessions the contract is indeed a union triumph. Unlike two previous settlements, which were resoundingly rejected by the bargaining council and then by the membership, the ratified contract contains no explicit penalties against wildcat strikers. In addition, deductibles for medical care are reduced from a maximum \$750 per year to \$200. Hospitalization remains free. The hours of work per year that are required for that year to count towards miners' pensions are reduced from 1,450 to 1,000 hours.

The contract also includes a modified cost of living clause, won in 1974 but deleted from the first tentative settlement. Finally, in order to institute production incentive plans ("bonus plans"), mine owners must obtain approval by a majority of the local's membership.

In other ways, however, the contract is a step backwards. "At our last constitutional convention, we outlined what we wanted in this agreement," Dennis Spangler of Local 7086 told IN THESE TIMES. "What's caused so much disharmony is that we got nothing of what we asked for. A lot of fellows have grievances against the union's bargainers because they didn't live up to the expectations we had for them."

Miners are irked most by the destruc-



Earl Dotter

tion of their industry-wide health program, the "womb-to-tomb" plan won by John L. Lewis in 1947. While the new contract guarantees health coverage, it mandates companies to establish individual health plans through private insurance carriers.

In a special "Memo of Understanding," the contract retains the Arbitration Review Board, the last step in the grievance procedure. Union members wanted the ARB eliminated. ARB decisions, some of which contradict parts of the contract, are therefore still in effect.

The contract probably will exacerbate many long-standing problems in coalfield labor relations: management refusal to settle grievances at the mine site, an unworkable grievance procedure, arbitration decisions that undercut contract provisions, and frequent wildcat strikes. President Carter hopes that a special Presidential Commission on the Coal Industry, which he will appoint soon, can grapple effectively with these difficulties. But mineworkers and independent observers expect wildcats to break out again when miners' finances have recovered from the strike.

Union/management relations are further complicated by imminent changes at the top level of the union's hierarchy. On March 29 UMW president Arnold

Miller was hospitalized in Miami after suffering a mild stroke. The much-criticized union leader has periodically been under doctor's care for black lung disease, hypertension, arthritis and other maladies that have been worsened by a hard-fought election campaign last year and the recent strike. If Miller is seriously disabled, his vice-president, Sam Church, who is no more popular among rank and filers would take over.

Miller has been generally discredited by his conduct of the strike and contract negotiations. Industry bargainers complain that he was absent from some crucial sessions and that his participation actually impeded contract ratification. Union members charge that he failed to fight aggressively for their major demands.

In recent months Miller has become so paranoid that he routinely travels with a contingent of bodyguards or with a pistol tucked in his belt.

Miners and local union leaders, meanwhile, are formulating various strategies for knocking him out of office. Miller may call a special convention later this year to deal with the union's weak financial position. Delegates there might take actions to try to pressure Miller out of office: a unionwide vote of confidence, lowering Miller's salary to \$1 per year, or

scheduling a new election. Any of these moves, however, could be challenged legally by Miller and tied up in the courts.

While the effort to recall Miller is continuing, most union dissidents believe that the procedure is too time-consuming and complex to succeed.

The company side is no less divided and disgruntled with the new contract. If wildcat strikes continue over the next few years, individual companies may opt to abandon national bargaining by breaking from the BCOA and negotiating directly with union districts. Peabody Coal Co., the industry giant, as well as Island Creek Coal and AMAX are already considering such moves. This trend is even more likely if non-union mines continue to increase their share of total coal production—a situation that places the unionized firms in a less competitive position.

Finally, the strike had one unintended effect: it showed that the UMW no longer has the economic power to cripple the nation's output of electric power or production of steel. Governmental estimates of millions of unemployed workers and "rolling power blackouts" were grossly exaggerated. Unless the union gets itself together internally and mounts a huge campaign to organize non-union mines, it is certain to decline as a nationwide economic force.

## Nuclear liability

Continued from page 8.

generation of nuclear power, "but placed the cost of that benefit on an arbitrarily chosen segment of society, those injured by nuclear catastrophe."

McMillan held that "the probability of a major nuclear accident producing damage exceeding the \$560 million limit of the Price-Anderson Act is real.... It is not the kind of risk which responsible government or business places on by-standers."

"The court is not a bookie," McMillan's order continued. "...under the odds quoted by either side, a nuclear catastrophe is a real, not a fanciful, possibility."

Duke Power lawyers raised the question—echoed by several Supreme Court justices during oral arguments—about whether environmentalists had any legal grievance, or standing to contest the act until an accident had in fact occurred that exceeded the limit set by Price-Anderson.

The justices also asked William Schultz, lawyer for the Carolina Environmental Study Group, what alternative existed to

nuclear power to meet American energy needs.

In his opinion Judge McMillan had dealt with the question of standing by noting "the threat and present fear of future catastrophic accidents is real and objectively reasonable."

Moreover, he noted, the operation of Duke's McGuire nuclear plant—the focus of the suit against Price-Anderson—"will cause present and certain injury.... It will release a small but regular amount of radioactive energy at all times following the start-up of the nuclear reactor."

While long-term effects of this low-level radiation are "estimated to be slight," there is "no way to tell short of a few generations," McMillan noted.

Since McMillan's ruling, additional information developed in studies by Dr. Thomas Mancuso and others (ITT, Mar. 15) have added to concern over low-level radiation exposure.

Duke Power was supported in arguments before the Supreme Court by Wade

McCree, Solicitor General of the U.S., and by friend of the court briefs entered by utilities, nuclear industry suppliers and insurance groups.

The Carolina Environmental Study Group was supported by a brief entered by the attorney generals of Minnesota and Wisconsin and by attorneys representing coastal counties in New Jersey.

The attorney generals' brief contended Price-Anderson violates the powers reserved to states under the Tenth Amendment by setting limits on liability for property damages that might be directly or indirectly incurred by states in the event of a major nuclear accident.

Both Wisconsin and Minnesota have seen considerable public opposition to nuclear power. Several years ago Minnesota attempted to set nuclear exposure limits stricter than those set by the Atomic Energy Commission, only to lose with a Supreme Court ruling that the Atomic Energy Act pre-empted for the federal government all regulatory authority over atomic energy.

New Jersey has been the focus of a controversy over a proposal by Off-Shore Power Systems to build floating nuclear plants in coastal waters.



## ENERGY

# Sun Day promotes solar power

By David Moberg

**S**UN WORSHIP IS COMING BACK. On a scale unknown to the ancient Incas, 20 to 25 million people are expected to acknowledge the power of the sun on May 3, Sun Day.

There will be a few sunrise religious services, but otherwise the day will be primarily scientific, educational, political and celebratory. Sun Day—on a Wednesday—is being organized by some of the same people who planned the vastly successful Earth Day in 1971, to demonstrate the immediate availability of solar technologies to meet much of America's energy needs.

Over 1,000 events in 400 different towns, cities and rural areas have been scheduled, some spread out over the whole week. By May 3 organizers expect the number to double. There will be numerous fairs and exhibits, open houses at solar homes, film showings, practical workshops in build-your-own solar technology, solar greenhouse demonstrations, teach-ins, solar cookouts, concerts (featuring "sun songs"), and special programs on the way solar technology can meet the needs of the urban poor.

In addition to cultural and consumer-oriented events, there will be petition drives, job rallies, lobbying for solar legislation, town meetings and other political action aimed at reducing existing barriers to solar technology, such as some tax and zoning ordinances.

Although there are plans for substantial actions throughout the country, the greatest interest so far has been shown in sun-rich California and the Southwest and in New England, where the ravages of high oil prices, soaring electric utility rates and nuclear power construction have created a constituency for an alternative energy future.

The coalition promoting Sun Day has carefully avoided controversies that may otherwise detract from its primary aim of showing people "why it's worth their while to think solar," in the words of coordinator, Peter Harnik.

At first some union leaders were worried that the environmentalists who initiated the project, such as Sun Day's chairman Denis Hayes, would sneak in an anti-nuclear agenda, but the coalition agreed to take no position on nuclear power, coal or even any specific solar technology. As a result, the United Auto Workers, the Machinists, the Steelworkers, and the Sheet Metal Workers have been vigorously involved, with participation to a lesser degree by other unions, such as the Communications Workers and the State, County and Municipal Employees. Various environmental, church, appropriate technology, consumer and academic groups or individual leaders have also been major promoters of Sun Day.

Sun Day has such a relatively unthreatening aim that the coalition can draw the support of strongly pro-nuclear Energy Secretary James Schlesinger, who recently cut the Department of Energy's proposed solar development budget below last year's appropriation. Nonetheless, there are obviously serious conflicts just below the surface of the unified enthusiasm.

Sun Day will give exposure both to decentralized, easily constructed devices for solar heating, water heating and even production of electricity and to exotic technologies that go in a much different, more centralized direction, such as solar satellites and "power towers" that attempt to duplicate the capacity of present central power stations. It will provide a platform for both solar advocates who argue for keeping fossil fuel prices as low as possible during a transition period and to those who want to push up oil and gas prices fast to speed conversion to solar

power, despite the hardship to many poor people in the interim.

Even many big corporations—including electric utilities, some aerospace companies and probably Mobil Oil, owner of Tyco, a large solar company—are expected to get into the act, even if their message is that solar power is nice—some time in the distant future.

However, "the message of Sun Day is that solar energy is here now," Harnik says. "The solar age starts May 3." He hopes that the massive publicity will convince people that solar energy is not science fiction. Afterwards, those who want to keep solar technology democratically controlled will continue their fight.

"I feel that solar technology by its very nature tends more toward decentralization, appropriateness in scale and community control than other technologies," Harnik says. "I can imagine scenarios where it is misused or simply absorbed into the existing utilities and energy companies, but that will depend on whether the national will to implement it in a socialist, left-leaning or community control way is there. The political edge won't be there on May 3. I think there will be several months when it's a motherhood issue—when maybe Barry Commoner and James Schlesinger are even on the same platform—but by September the divisions will show."



Sun Day will push everything from elementary solar cells such as that above to massive, capital-intensive solar power towers that attempt to duplicate the power of conventional power plants.

## CITIES

## Cleveland mayor fires Hongisto

By Dan Marshall

**D**ENNIS KUCINICH, THE youthful "reform" mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, has gone to war with Richard Hongisto, the progressive police chief he imported from San Francisco to clean up the local police department. The conflict is the latest in a series of political crises that have shaken the four-month-old Kucinich administration. This one, however, may be the most serious, since it places the administration's abrasive, "anti-humanistic" tone under public scrutiny and may thwart Kucinich's ambition to become a nationally recognized "opposition" political figure.

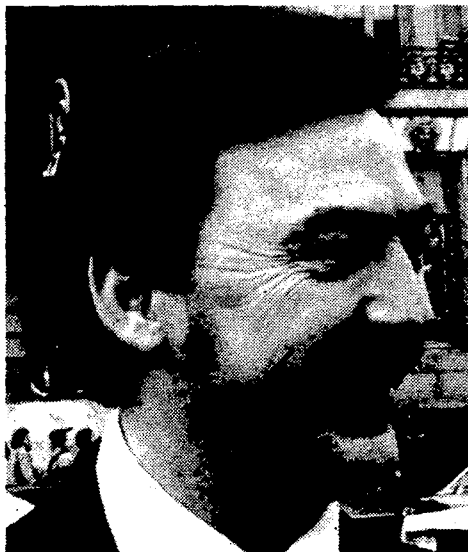
The seesaw battle, which both local reporters and political observers have had a difficult time following, has gone something like this:

In mid-March rumors began to circulate that Hongisto's three-month tenure as Cleveland police chief was in jeopardy. Hongisto had apparently engaged in several shouting matches with Bob Weissman, Kucinich's administrative assistant and closest confidante, and was balking at political pressures from administration officials to perform what he considered "unethical" acts.

On Wednesday, March 22, the conflict burst into the limelight through front-page newspaper stories. The next day, after Kucinich and Hongisto had met for several hours, they engaged in an impromptu news conference. Kucinich demanded that Hongisto immediately substantiate his allegations of "unethical" political pressures. Hongisto refused, requesting 24 hours to collect his thoughts and write a comprehensive statement. With TV cameras whirring, Hongisto was suspended.

Kucinich scheduled another press conference for the next day and demanded that Hongisto appear if he wanted to keep his job. Hongisto, apparently realizing that he was already on the way out, failed to show up and was summarily fired.

Hongisto's statement, published in full



Although immediate public reaction was heavily behind Chief Hongisto (above), Mayor Kucinich has regained support.

by the *Plain Dealer*, charges the administration with six examples of "unethical conduct" that entail political favoritism, a "sort of enemies list," and efforts to subvert the police chief's authority as outlined by the City Charter. At a speech in front of the City Club, Hongisto accused Kucinich of behaving like a Tammany Hall politician who surrounds himself with political cronies and tries to bring about reform through incompetence.

In a counter-statement Kucinich categorically denied all of Hongisto's charges, calling them fabrications and untruths. "The former police chief has not been telling the truth," declares Andy Junewicz, Kucinich's press secretary. "His [Kucinich's] political enemies will seize at anything, no matter how flimsy and unsubstantiated it might be. And the allegations made by Hongisto are about as flimsy and unsubstantiated as anyone can come up with."

The press and public opinion, however, initially swung to Hongisto's side. Policemen, local politicians and Cleveland residents quickly came to his defense. "When Hongisto came here, there were a lot of questions. Now everyone's united behind him," commented one cop.

Since Hongisto took over, police response time has improved 23 percent, according to department figures, and 110 policemen have been taken off desk jobs and placed on the street. Crime dropped 5 percent in February, according to police statistics. Hongisto's style and community relations efforts have also attracted a high amount of favorable publicity.

After Kucinich's defense public opinion apparently moved in his direction. Recent phone calls to City Hall have been 12-1 in favor of the mayor, according to Junewicz. His popularity will soon be tested by a recall attempt that has been mounted against him. Recall proponents must collect 37,000 signatures in 30 days to call a special election. Observers see the Cleveland establishment and Democratic party regulars, who hate the independent-minded mayor, as the primary leaders of the drive.

The handling of the Hongisto affair has raised questions about whether the Kucinich administration can effectively govern the city. Weissman has the reputation as a tough, abrasive, vindictive political operator who handles staff members and Kucinich opponents very roughly. Kucinich has also been criticized for giving several young, inexperienced political supporters positions of heavy responsibility in governing the city.

"They have set the tone for this kind of thing to happen by all their mau-mauing of people, pushing people around, and taking a hard line on all the issues. They created a stereotype of the administration so that reporters are willing to believe the worst," says a veteran political observer.

The Hongisto affair also may sever connections between Kucinich and left-liberal forces around the country. It was mainly because of the Hongisto appointment, for example, that Kucinich was invited to address the California Democratic Council in early March.

"The problem," concludes Junewicz, "is going to be how to recover from the damage Hongisto has been able to inflict."



## LABOR

# Corporate ties to Stevens under fire

By Bob McMahon

**J**.P. STEVENS, THE ANTI-UNION textile giant, is threatened with isolation from the normal interlocks and mutual ties of the corporate world. The threat comes as a result of a campaign by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) that has already led to decisions by Avon Products, Inc., and the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. to cut interlocking directorships with J.P. Stevens.

On March 21 David Mitchell, president and chief executive officer of Avon Products, resigned from the J.P. Stevens board of directors.

Two weeks before Mitchell and J.P. Stevens board chairman James Finley revealed that they would not seek re-election to the board of Manufacturers Hanover because of pressures resulting from the textile company's battle with the union.

The Avon decision came in the wake of thousands of inquiries from Avon customers and from Avon sales representatives across the country. "A customer would raise it with the representative, and the representative would raise it with us," a company spokesman said.

The pressure was organized by unions and women's groups. A postcard campaign protesting Avon's interlocks with J.P. Stevens was initiated at the National Women's Conference in Houston last November.

In the case of Manufacturers Hanover, a number of unions threatened to remove pension funds and other accounts from the bank if the tie to Stevens was not cut.

The Beltmakers, Novelty, and Allied

Workers union, a New York affiliate of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, closed out a \$6.4 million health and welfare fund account at Manufacturers Hanover. United Auto Workers Local 259 closed out a \$50,000 checking account at the bank.

Behind these two defections more important losses were openly threatened.

William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, had suggested that his union might remove a \$160 million pension fund from Manufacturers Hanover. Other unions had also suggested they might withdraw their funds because of the Stevens link.

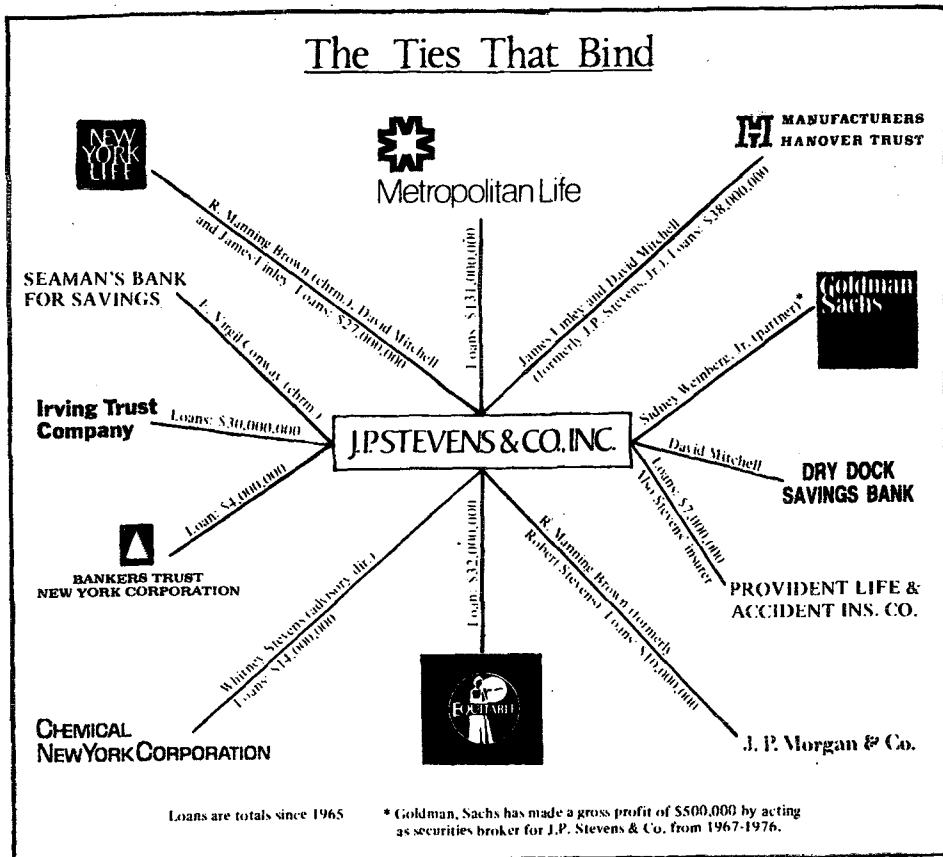
Altogether, Manufacturers Hanover holds nearly \$1 billion in pension funds, 14 percent of the bank's total pension fund business.

According to Ray Rogers, corporate campaign director for ACTWU, the goal of the campaign is to "isolate" Stevens, "to cut them off from their normal links and support on Wall Street."

Victories such as the Manufacturers Hanover decision have more than symbolic value, according to Rogers. The union's belief is that cutting such interlocking ties will result in increasing financial difficulties for Stevens. "Banks want these interlocks when they loan a lot of money, so they can see what happens to it," Rogers explains.

Both Rogers and union opponents, such as Avon's David Mitchell, describe the union tactic as more "sophisticated" than anything that has been attempted before.

At the same time, Rogers notes, the union is careful to avoid falling into the legal pitfall of appearing to organize secondary boycotts against banks or other compan-



*The campaign against Stevens' corporate ties is intended to isolate the company and to cut them off from their normal links and support on Wall Street. Victories have much more than symbolic value.*

ies linked to J.P. Stevens. "All we are trying to do," he explains, "is inform the public about certain links that exist between Stevens and others so that public opinion will force Stevens to come to the bargaining table in good faith."

The union's next target is New York Life Insurance Co. Stevens chairman James Finley is on the New York Life board, while New York Life chairman and chief executive officer, R. Manning Brown, holds a seat on the Stevens board. New York Life also has outstanding loans to J.P. Stevens of \$27-32 million.

Among other companies tied to J.P. Stevens by interlocking boards of directors are Seaman's Bank for Savings, Goldman, Sachs & Co., and Morgan Guaranty Trust.

Corporate isolation of J.P. Stevens also appears in other ways. Gallagher's President's Report, an investment guide, rated

Stevens chairman and chief executive officer James Finley among the ten worst chief executives of major corporations in 1977 because of the company's labor policies.

And in North Carolina the state's Industrial Commission attempted to set up a meeting between the Carolina Brown Lung Association and representatives of major textile companies to discuss compensation for brown lung disease.

Burlington Industries, the world's largest textile manufacturer, replied that they would be glad to meet with the Brown Lung Association but would not take part in any meeting at which J.P. Stevens was represented.

Burlington, explained a company spokesman, "does not want to be tarred with the same brush as J.P. Stevens." ■ **Bob McMahon is a reporter in North Carolina.**

## POLITICS

# White House interfered with grant

By Barry M. Hager

WASHINGTON

**T**HE CARTER WHITE HOUSE IS being charged in a lawsuit with political interference—dating back to the first days of the administration—in federal funding for a Texas Chicano group.

The suit alleges that the White House responded to political pressure from Texas Democratic Gov. Dolph Briscoe and from the Texas congressional delegation in attempting to cut off federal funds going to the Zavala County Economic Development Corporation of Crystal City.

Sited for trial in federal court in Washington in May, the suit already has placed the Carter team in a difficult position: To avoid handing over copies of memoranda that would describe White House activity touching the group, the administration is claiming executive privilege—the controversial claim frequently used by the Nixon administration to prevent access to White House documents, including the Watergate tapes.

The claim of executive privilege—based on the assertion that a president must be able to receive confidential advice from his aides—arose March 8 during formal questioning of presidential assistants about their role in the case.

Three White House aides were questioned by the Chicano group's lawyers March 8-10: Frank Moore, assistant to the President for congressional relations; Joseph Aragon, special assistant to the President; and Margaret McKenna, deputy counsel to the President.

The documents that the administration refuses to disclose, 18 in all, include mem-

oranda written to Carter himself and date back to as early as Jan. 28, 1977—barely a week after Carter's inauguration. The existence of the documents, which the White House admits, shows that there was extensive high-level administration interest in the relatively small grant for the Zavala County group throughout 1977.

The suit charges that the White House exerted repeated pressure on the Community Services Administration, the successor to the old anti-poverty Office of Economic Opportunity, to cut off funding to the group. As a result, the suit claims, CSA in fall 1977 blocked the release of \$855,000 that the group wanted to use to buy land for vegetable farming.

Jesus Salas, the Zavala County group's executive director, said in a March 9 interview that "there is no doubt in my mind that the pressure came from Gov. Briscoe." Salas repeated his statement, made in an affidavit filed with the suit, that CSA officials had admitted to him White House pressure was behind the denial of funds.

Briscoe was away from Austin and could not be reached for comment. But his opposition to the group is well-documented. Crystal City, where the group is headquartered, has been a controversial center of Chicano political organizing for years. La Raza Unida, the Mexican-American political party, is strong in the area. Texas Democrats have viewed La Raza as a threat to the party, since La Raza's radical-progressive image siphons away leftist Democrats.

Moreover, allegations have been made in the past that Republican administrations have favored giving federal grant money to the county in an effort to forge

political links to the Hispanic community. Briscoe and other critics of the group raised questions about the unusually hasty procedures used under the Ford administration to obligate program funds for the group during the 1976 election year.

Briscoe temporarily succeeded in blocking release of the money during 1976 by objecting that he had not been given the chance—as required by law—to comment on the planned grant.

The present suit in effect charges that Briscoe's efforts continued and were successful thanks to a responsive White House. Carter's victory in Texas, a state he needed to win in 1976, is one reason suggested for his apparent interest in the South Texas group immediately after assuming office.

CSA officials deny that they succumbed to political pressure in blocking release of the money. They claim instead that the group has had a background of questionable use of federal money, and the grant was blocked because the request was not adequately documented.

Their criticism of the group's past use of federal funds has been backed up by the General Accounting Office, Congress' watchdog arm, and by investigations conducted by a House oversight committee.

Nevertheless, documents filed in the court case show that the White House did involve itself in decisions concerning the Zavala County project. Shortly before the CSA denial of funding, on Sept. 14, the director of the CSA was summoned to the White House for a meeting with Moore, Aragon and McKenna to discuss the project.

Sources familiar with the litigation



*Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe reportedly intervened to get the White House to hold back on the grant for Zavala County.*

have concluded that while there may have been sound reasons to deny the money to the group, the White House efforts to intervene were nevertheless politically motivated and questionable.

Thus Carter may be embarrassed by the suit. The refusal to give up the 18 documents embroils his administration in a sticky fight over executive privilege, despite his pledges to run an open government. On the other hand, release of the documents could discredit the administration's claims to have moved away from political considerations in the exercise of government power.

The facts alleged in the suit also undermine Carter's claims to believe in "Cabinet government," rather than the highly centralized decision-making of the Nixon, and to a lesser extent, Ford administrations.

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## NUCLEAR POWER

# California Energy Commission nixes nuclear power plant

By John Harris

**A** POLITICAL BATTLE IS SHAPING up over the California Energy Commission's denial of a license for the Sundesert nuclear power plant. The twin reactor, a \$2.3 billion complex proposed by San Diego Gas and Electric Co. for a site in the Mojave desert 200 miles east of Los Angeles is the first nuclear plant to come up for approval since the Energy Commission's formation in 1974.

The power industry considers that Sundesert may set the pattern for the future. If Sundesert is not approved, says Dennis Richter, a SDG&E vice president, "I can't see any other utility taking that kind of risk in the future."

Commission chairman Richard Mauldin doesn't agree: "One lousy reactor which is being promoted by a utility which can't afford to pay for it is not determining. They won't roll over and say that's the end of nuclear power."

The Commission acted under the provisions of laws passed in 1976—the fuel cycle laws—that require the Commission to deny approval to nuclear plants unless an "approved technology" exists for fuel recycling and disposal of radioactive wastes. When the laws were passed the industry was confident that the federal government would develop such technology within a few years. But fuel reprocessing has been abandoned by the Carter administration and permanent facilities for the disposal of radioactive waste are not expected to be available until at least the mid-'80s.

The battle for Sundesert is not yet over. Nuclear supporters have pushed through the state senate a bill to overrule the Commission. A similar bill has yet to pass the assembly, and if it does Gov. Brown is certain to veto it.

The issue also entered the gubernatorial race this month when Attorney General Evelle Younger, who wants to be the Republican challenger for the office, announced that he would no longer represent the Energy Commission in the courts on the ground that they were not acting in the state's best interests. A few days later he appointed Edward Teller—the man who gave the world the hydrogen bomb—as his energy adviser for the campaign.

Behind it all is a deep philosophical division over energy policy that goes far beyond the question of nuclear safety. At issue is the question of how much energy the state needs.

The power industry argues that ever increasing amounts of electricity are essential to preserve the standard of living and maintain employment. Chauncey Starr, president of the Electric Power Research Institute, for instance, recently attacked the "highly organized minority that, having made it, now says the country does not have to work any more to improve its material status." Clearly aiming at Jerry Brown's "small is beautiful" rhetoric, Starr claimed that "the taproot on which the whole society was built has been partially destroyed."

Contrasted with this view, a 1977 energy policy study by the National Academy of Science argues that "the first, and dominant [question] relates to the issue of how fast, and indeed whether, our use of energy may need to grow.... Energy is but a means to social ends; it is not an end in itself."

Nuclear power has traditionally drawn its strongest support from organized labor. The industry argues that ample

electric power is necessary for high employment. But conservation analysts counter that the immense capital requirements of nuclear power may starve the economy of capital that could provide more jobs if invested in other activities. It takes very few employees to keep a billion dollar power station operating; the same billion dollars could provide 10,000 long-term jobs in another sector. Power stations produce fewer jobs per dollar than almost any other industrial investment.

Conservation could be a rich source of employment. A Federal Energy Administration study estimated that limited measures to improve energy use efficiency, such as adding insulation to walls and ceilings, would save \$2 billion in fuel costs and \$18 billion in unneeded power stations by 1985, and would generate 487,000 new jobs.

In 1968 the cost of reactors on order was estimated at \$180 per kilowatt of generating capacity. The actual costs turned out to be \$430. The Sundesert plant is estimated by the utility at \$1,200 a kilowatt and by the State Energy Commission at \$2,000 a kilowatt.

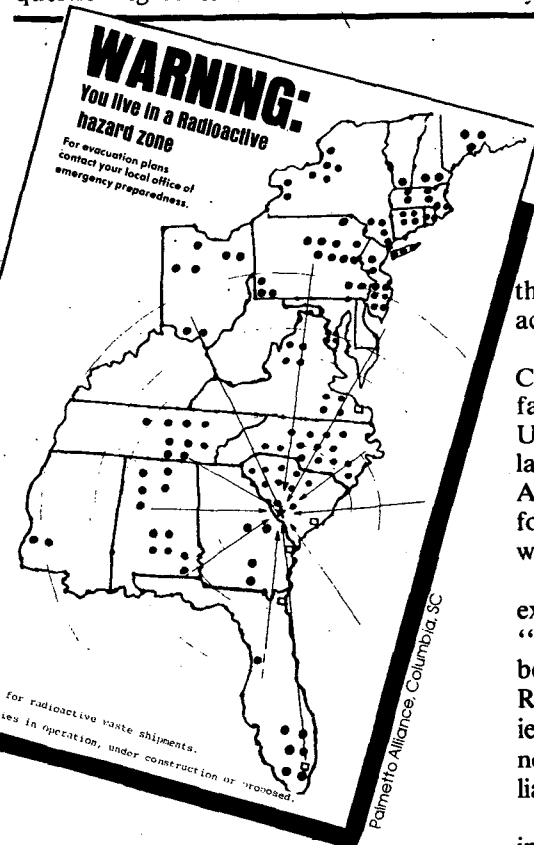
Many analysts believe that if the true costs had been known from the beginning there would have been no nuclear power. Peter Schwartz, an energy analyst with SRI international and an adviser to both the federal government and the Brown administration, says, "Nuclear power was never justifiable on economic grounds. There was never a real demand for it."

California's Energy Commission is required by law to have one member who is an engineer or physical scientist. Commissioner Ron Doctor is a nuclear engineer with a Ph.D. from UCLA. He remembers that as a boy he was fascinated by nuclear power. "From the time I was in junior high school I wanted to be a nuclear engineer; I really caught the PR campaign the feds were putting out."

But seven or eight years ago he began questioning some of the values he had

been acting on. Contact with other scientists, like physicist Henry Kendall of the Union of Concerned Scientists, "triggered a process of change in me." Now he is of the opinion that "you don't build nuclear reactors unless you have to."

But he thinks that the industry is unlikely to accept a go-slow policy. "The momentum is too great," he says. "The industry wants a showdown over Sundesert and the more they fight it the more the symbolic significance."



By Bob McMahon

**T**HE FINANCIAL FUTURE OF THE nuclear power industry may be determined by a case now being heard by the U.S. Supreme Court. At least that appeared to be the judgment of both supporters and opponents of nuclear energy as they presented evidence March 20 at hearings on a lower court ruling that a government act limiting the liability of

## Court hears challenge to nuclear liability act

the nuclear industry in case of a nuclear accident is unconstitutional.

Lawyers for Duke Power Co. and the Carolina Environmental Study Group faced each other as the court debated U.S. District Court Judge James McMillan's decision that the Price-Anderson Act, which sets a top limit of \$560 million for damages in case of a nuclear accident, was unconstitutional.

Jesse Riley, of the environmental group, explained the significance of the case. "The nuclear industry could not have been started without Price-Anderson," Riley said. Investors, insurance companies, and suppliers for nuclear plants could not face the risks of potentially unlimited liability in nuclear accidents.

Riley criticized the nuclear industry for insisting on the protection of Price-Anderson while at the same time insisting there is no danger of a serious nuclear accident. "One wonders why their dollars are more sensitive than our lives," he said.

The Price-Anderson Act, originally passed in 1957, limits damages to victims of a nuclear plant accident to \$560 million, of which \$110 million is to be put up by private insurers and the remainder by the federal government.

An early study of the consequences of a "worst case" accident, the WASH-740

report, prepared in 1957, set property damages at \$7 billion dollars, with 3,400 lives lost and 43,000 injured.

An update of the WASH-740 study, prepared in 1964, to allow for the greatly increased size of reactors being built, raised these estimates to 27,000 deaths, 73,000 injured and \$17 billion in property damage.

In arguments before the Supreme Court Duke Power lawyer Steve Griffith acknowledged the nuclear industry needed the protection of Price-Anderson to begin operations.

Griffith argued that the law represents a "fine tuning" of a balance among several considerations—the government's desire to encourage a private nuclear industry, the need to set a limit on liability, and the protection of public safety.

In his decision, issued March 31, 1977, Judge McMillan had held that the law "violates the Due Process clause because it allows the destruction of the property or the lives of those affected by nuclear catastrophe without reasonable certainty that the victims will be justly compensated."

McMillan also held that the law violated the equal protection given by the Fifth Amendment because it encouraged the

Continued on page 5.

NUCLEAR PLANTS ARE CLEAN, ODORLESS AND GENERATE ELECTRICITY ECONOMICALLY...AND MOST IMPORTANT, HELP CONSERVE FOSSIL FUELS!



NOW THAT WE KNOW HOW ELECTRICITY IS GENERATED, I'D LIKE TO KNOW MORE ABOUT OUR ELECTRIC COMPANY!

Reprinted from The Story of Electricity, by the Indiana & Michigan Electric Company

John Harris is a California based engineer and free-lance writer. He has written on science and public policy for Mother Jones and The Nation.



# IN THE WORLD

## MIDEAST

# Israel was looking to invade Lebanon

By A.J. Kfoury and Paul Saba

**T**HE ISRAELI INVASION OF southern Lebanon two weeks ago was no mere reprisal for the Palestinian commando attack near Tel Aviv on March 11. The size and scale of the Israeli operation, and the systematic, mass destruction that it caused, suggested at the time that it was a major military contingency plan. Gen. Gur, the Israeli chief of staff, indicated as much a week after the invasion with the remark that, in addition to reprisal operations, a good army "always has lots of options."

According to the *Washington Post*, other Israeli sources were even more explicit: They said that the invasion of southern Lebanon was the "implementation of a long-held plan."

Although the Palestinian commando raid provided Israel with the opportunity to execute this plan, the question remains why Israel chose to carry it out at precisely this time. In continuing to deny categorically the Palestinians' right to national self-determination, Israel has an obvious interest in destroying the PLO's capacity for political leadership and armed struggle; and southern Lebanon is an area where the PLO has remained openly organized and active, despite setbacks on other fronts. Yet the Israeli attack two weeks ago was the largest and most devastating ever launched in southern Lebanon, and it came at a time when Israeli-Egyptian negotiations had reached a delicate and precarious stage.

The underlying reason for the invasion of southern Lebanon was the general deterioration of a situation in this territory that Israel has been trying to shape to its advantage for nearly two years.

### A war of attrition.

In summer 1976, while the Lebanese civil war still raged, Israel began to arm and train militia units of the right-wing Lebanese Phalangist party and its allies. It transported them by sea from northern Lebanon down to the Israeli port of Haifa, and then encouraged their penetration into southern Lebanon from across the Israeli border. When the civil war was fought to a standstill in the central-northern areas of the country in fall 1976, Israel warned the Arab peacekeeping forces, which had occupied Beirut and the north, that it would tolerate no major movement southward. At the same time, it stationed its own units in southern Lebanon to provide full logistic and artillery support for stepped-up attacks, spearheaded by the Phalangist militia, against left-wing Lebanese and Palestinian forces.

As a result of Israeli-Phalangist offensives, whole areas of southern Lebanon were depopulated, a large part of its agriculture was ruined, and its coastal cities were swelled with refugees, many of whom until that time had been spared the effects of the fighting in the north.

From the end of 1976 until the recent invasion, Israel pursued in southern Lebanon a systematic war of attrition against the left Lebanese-Palestinian alliance, relying primarily on Lebanese proxies to bear the brunt of the fighting. Yet this region as a whole, a neglected and impoverished area with a long tradition of left-wing militancy, remained throughout this period under the loose control of the PLO and the left-wing Lebanese National Movement. Despite continuing Israeli military support, the Phalangist militia were able to implant themselves in only a few enclaves contiguous to the Israeli border.

At times, Israeli armored columns had to push across this border to assist their



In Beirut, on March 23, Palestinian refugees from southern Lebanon crowd around a UN official to learn of relief plans. More than 60,000 Palestinians were displaced by the Israeli invasion.

faltering Lebanese allies. A major example of this occurred last November, when the Israeli army mounted a large-scale operation into southern Lebanon, and when—according to *The Economist*—populated areas under Lebanese-Palestinian control came under heavy fire "from Israeli batteries on both sides of the frontier." Were it not for the Sadat "peace" initiative and his proposed visit to Jerusalem and, as a result, subsequent American efforts to halt the Israeli operation, it is possible that Israel's "long-held" plan might have been implemented at the end of last year.

### Permanent military hegemony.

The underlying objectives of Israeli policy in southern Lebanon go far beyond its openly declared military-security aims. These wider objectives were first revealed in a series of messages passed along to the Lebanese government by the American embassy in Beirut last fall. In these messages, which were largely ignored by the western media at the time, Israel made the following demands, essentially the same ones that it reiterated after the invasion two weeks ago:

- that left-Lebanese and Palestinian forces be withdrawn from southern Lebanon;
- that units of the regular Lebanese army sent southward to supervise this withdrawal be commanded by Phalangist officers;
- that Israel be allowed to maintain without hindrance its own army units in certain areas of southern Lebanon;
- that the Israeli pound be circulated and accepted in southern Lebanon as legal currency;
- that arrangements be allowed for the marketing in Israel, through Israeli intermediaries, of Lebanese peasant produce;
- that Lebanese be allowed to cross the Israeli border and work in Israeli industry, while Israeli buses and other vehicles be permitted in Lebanese territory to transport such workers.

Long before the recent Palestinian com-

mando raid and the presumed Israeli retaliation, Israel revealed its interest not only in eliminating left-Lebanese and Palestinian forces from southern Lebanon, but also in establishing a permanent military hegemony over this area, opening it up to Israeli commercial capital, and converting its Arab population into a source of cheap labor for the Israeli economy. In all of these respects Israel's objectives in southern Lebanon are no different from those it has successfully pursued on its other Arab borders, where military buffer zones have been created, Palestinian resistance reduced or suppressed, and large sections of the Arab population converted into a cheap labor pool by a policy of forced sales and expropriations of land.

It is precisely these objectives in southern Lebanon that were jeopardized in recent months, in the period leading up to the Israeli invasion. From the beginning of this year, the overall position in southern Lebanon of the Lebanese-Palestinian alliance had improved. An agreement between the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement had produced a more orderly disposition of fighting forces in towns and larger villages, to the relief and satisfaction of large sections of the population. The Lebanese left-wing parties had begun to prove their ability to organize and provide basic social services, in place of the religious leaders and "notable" politicians who had been discredited and fled during the civil war.

Moreover, the military balance of forces had shifted markedly during this period against the Phalangist militia and their allies. This shift was dramatically revealed in a series of battles near the Israeli border in early March, where Phalangist units were badly defeated and stampeded into flight, leaving behind their Israeli-supplied equipment, including tanks and armored vehicles. Following these Phalangist defeats, sections of the Israeli press called for heavier Israeli military action in southern Lebanon, but the Begin government held back for fear of embarrassing the

U.S. government and further disrupting the negotiations with Egypt.

Paradoxically, the improved position of the Lebanese-Palestinian alliance in southern Lebanon was due in part to the disarray among Arab states that was caused by Sadat's initiative to open bilateral talks with Israel. Sadat's independent initiative last November undermined an Egyptian-Syrian understanding, actively promoted by Saudi Arabia, to seek an American-sponsored settlement through a Geneva-like Middle East conference.

Syria's subsequent isolation in Middle East negotiations and its wooing by the "rejectionist" Arab states inevitably led to some friction between the Lebanese right-wing parties and the Syrian regime, whose army forms the bulk of the Arab peacekeeping forces in Lebanon. Growing antagonism in recent months between the Phalangists and Syrian troops forced Syria to strengthen its ties, at least temporarily, with the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement, and in doing so helped to bolster the overall position of the Lebanese-Palestinian alliance in southern Lebanon.

The Begin government's decision two weeks ago to unleash the massive attack on southern Lebanon, indicated not only the confidence it has in its ability to "handle" the Sadat initiative, but also its determination to pursue more aggressively than ever its goal of liquidating the Palestinian Resistance and, in the process, to bring under its control another large expanse of Arab territory. But in its relentless effort to stamp out the Palestinians' struggle for self-determination, and to root out the PLO from its last stronghold of southern Lebanon, the question for Israel was never *whether* it would strike, but precisely when and with how much force.

A.J. Kfoury is from Beirut, Lebanon, and is a visiting professor of computer science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Paul Saba is a lecturer in modern Middle Eastern history at Boston College.



## FRANCE

# Afterthoughts on the French election

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**T**HE VOTING BOOTH IS SECRET and so are people's thoughts. But here's a wild guess about the recent French elections: Most people, including most people on the left, are more or less relieved that the left was defeated.

The *New York Times* interpreted the vote—as the U.S. press has interpreted most European elections for the past 30 years—primarily as a rejection of Communism. Actually, the right's campaign played up the red scare less than might have been expected. I suspect there were two other fears that may have been more important: *Fear of fear* of the Communists, and fear of the Socialists.

Everyone knew that the moment the left won, investment capital would flee the country by the various circuitous routes it knows best, despite government measures to dam the flow. Everyone knew the multinational corporations, starting with those based in West Germany, would retaliate with the powerful means at their disposal against the nationalizations promised in the Common Program. Everyone expected that, in the face of the resulting economic difficulties, the Government of the Left would end up calling on workers not to strike, to accept some sort of austerity, to save *their* government.

And nobody saw very clearly how the left was going to deal with the new problems its own presence in the government would trigger—problems foreseen neither in the 1972 Common Program nor in the campaign speeches of the Socialist or Communist candidates.

Since the right won, but only after being warned in the first round that half the country was against it, the workers feel free to strike to their hearts' content, the unions feel free to press their demands. Untroubled by multinational economic sabotage, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's government may be persuaded to carry out about as many social measures as the left could have got away with.

Fear of Communism afflicted a minority who would have voted for the right in any case. Fear of fear of Communism was felt by many in the swing vote category, and also, most strongly of all perhaps, by a number of Communists themselves. It is not necessary to go hunting a "hand of Moscow" theory to explain a lack of will to win among Communists. It is enough to recall the Chilean trauma, and to sound out apprehensions that a spell of uncertain left-wing government could have given rise to disorders similar to those in Italy leading to the return in force of an authoritarian and repressive right. The Communists felt they would have been the first victims of such a disaster.

The Socialist party leaders wanted the left to win so they could get into the government. To do what? To carry out the Common Program? If, as most people evidently suspected, the Common Program was inadequate to deal with the problems France would face, then the Communist campaign, by focusing on that program and spelling out (even if in debatable terms) what it would cost, actually did everyone a service by calling the Union of the Left's bluff.

The Socialists complained that, because of the campaign led by Georges Marchais, they were attacked from the left and from the right. That's politics. The Socialists have no one to blame but themselves for their inadequacy to answer those attacks in a convincing way.

Marchais' campaign was simple and clear: The French Communist party (PCF) meant to be the champion of the economic interests of the poorest segment of the population. This is felt to be its legitimate role, and it can be argued that this straightforward line was the least likely to feed that particular fear of Communism that stems from past history of Com-



During Paris election campaign, Communists hold an informal neighborhood meeting.

munists under-handedly pretending to be something they are not, in order to sneak into power on false pretenses and then turn around. Of course, the fear and hostility of big capital to Communists is permanent. But although it is impossible to measure such things, it seemed that fear of Communism in the general population was minimal.

It was the Socialists whose intentions

were unclear. Did they want to carry out the Common Program or didn't they? And if not, what did they have in mind? It is this uncertainty about the real intentions of people who want to get into power that breeds uneasiness.

Very many people who sociologically should have been in the Socialist party (PS) constituency—salaried or professional middle class people with left-wing con-

victions—regarded the PS with intense distrust. Such people did not identify with the PCF and would not vote for it, while regarding it as a legitimate and familiar feature of the political scene, annoying perhaps in its rigidity, but not dangerous.

But they suspected the Socialists of two grave and related sins: opportunism and technocracy. They suspected the PS of being the eager vehicle of a social project based on technical efficiency and manipulation that would, insofar as it succeeded, stunt the growth of genuine new popular movements for social change.

But they also suspected that the Socialists were ready to bite off more than they could chew, and that their term in office could lead to reaction.

It is probable that many such people either did not vote or ended up voting for centrist candidates.

A victory of the left could have led to a period of conflicts over issues that many people consider outdated, irrelevant to the real problems of the '70s. People do not want to risk civil war for nationalizations they doubt would solve anything. The defeat of the left may allow the issues to become clearer and open the way for a fresh period of new and more authentic social struggles.

## CENTRAL AMERICA

## Honduran troops aiding Somoza

By Blase Bonpane

In mid-March, Honduras sent troops into Nicaragua at "the request of the Nicaraguan government." The troops were requested to put down the very successful FSLN (Sandino National Front), an anti-Somoza army of Nicaraguan patriots.

The military action, which is called *Operation Veloz* (Operation Speed), is under the auspices of the Central American Defense Council (CONDECA), consisting of the defense ministers of five Central American states allied for joint military actions.

CONDECA was established in 1961. Military leaders of Nicaragua and Guatemala, with U.S. encouragement, organized a conference last July of Central American armed forces. The conference produced a joint petition urging the governments to create a defense council and intelligence service for counteracting "subversive communist agents who infiltrate the area."

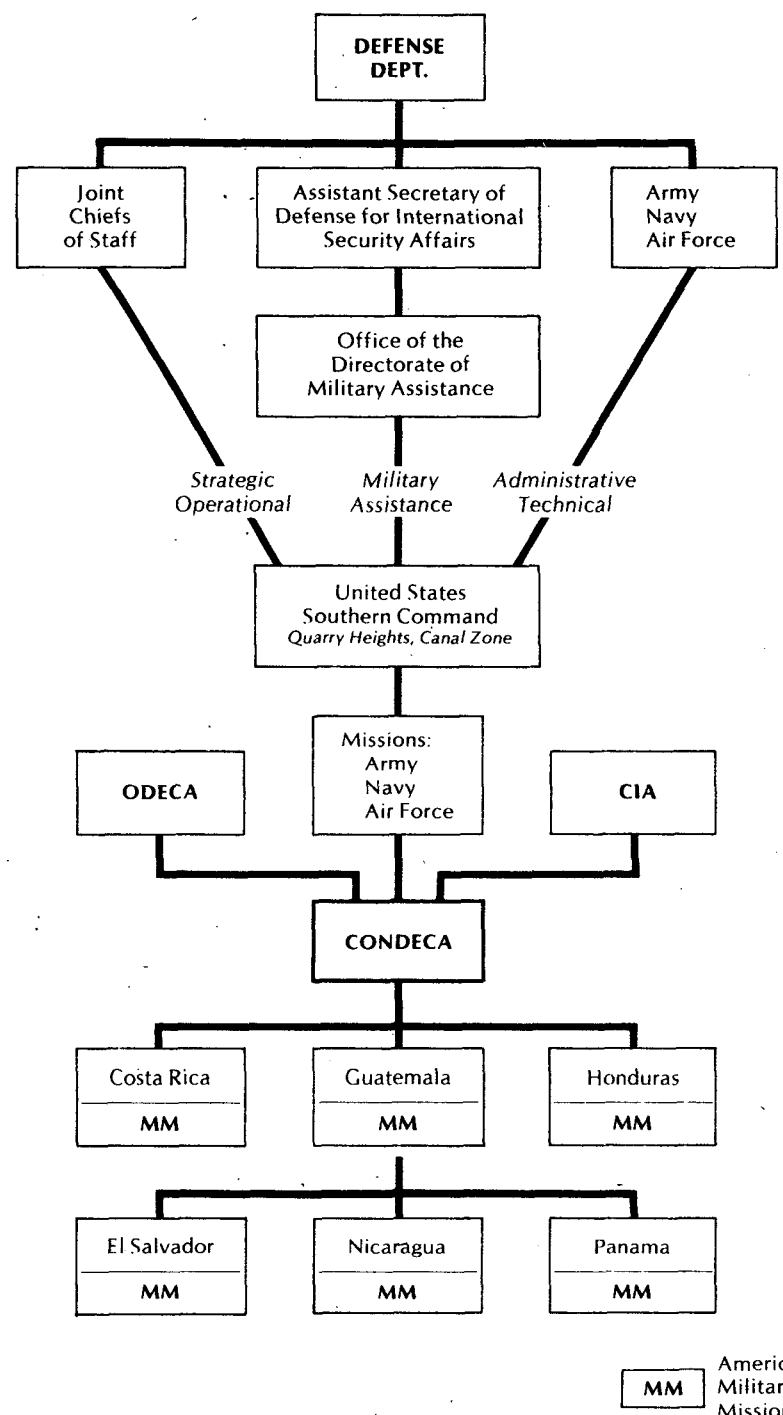
The U.S. Southern Command, based in the Canal Zone, played an important role in ensuring cooperation among the nations, which had always feared each other. Under American supervision, joint maneuvers were carried out in Honduras during August and September 1962. And CONDECA was given the role of defending the Isthmus from Cuban invasion and subversive infiltration.

In case of "internal subversion," each national army was to be initially responsible for its own rebellions. If it failed, it would receive reinforcements from other nations, as long as they were not threatened by similar dangers. This is what lay behind the entry of Honduran troops into Nicaragua.

In addition to the U.S. role in CONDECA's intervention, there have been other reports of U.S. involvement. Nicaraguans report the arrival of thousands of bayonets as part of a U.S. aid package. Last week, 6,000 new M-16 rifles and six million rounds of ammunition are supposed to have arrived.

Blase Bonpane was a Maryknoll priest in Nicaragua. He is now professor of political science at California State University, Northridge.

## CONDECA AND THE AMERICAN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT



This chart is adapted from an Office of the Secretary of Defense chart. (ODECA is the Organization of Central American States.)



## EUROPE

# Court imperils a Danish free city



A house was made out of a boat hull.

By John Lamperti

ON JAN. 18 THE DANISH Supreme Court began hearing the case of Ministry of Defense vs. the "free city" of Christiania, and on Feb. 2 the court announced its decision against the free town. If the Ministry and the Copenhagen city government have their way, that's the beginning of the end for this unique community in Christianshavn that recently celebrated its sixth birthday. But the 1,000-plus Christianites, together with thousands of friends and supporters, are determined to fight for Christiania's future.

## An official social experiment.

It began in 1971. The Danish military had at last completely abandoned its Boat-swain's Street barracks occupying a 45-acre site near the harbor, including parts of Copenhagen's 17th century walls and moat. The area contained some park-like forests and fields together with over 100 old but substantial buildings, all surrounded by fences. Residents of densely-populated nearby streets had already broken through one fence to open a field for a children's play ground; the authorities decided to accept this.

In October, 30 or so young people—some of them refugees from slum-clearance projects elsewhere in the city—started to squat in the former barracks. A local underground newspaper spread the word, urging readers to "emigrate by bus no. 8" to the new land. By year's end 300-400 people were living on the former base, and the free city was well on its way.

The government's reaction was cautious. Social Democrats were in power, times were good and there was no immediate plan for the area. By spring 1972 Christiania's negotiating group and the Danish government reached a preliminary ten point agreement that officially recognized Christiania's existence.

One year later a "treaty" was completed: Christiania could exist for at least three years more as a "social experiment," while its citizens were to pay 50 kroner each (about \$8) per month for city water and electricity. During this period there would be an official planning competition open to anyone wanting to submit ideas for the future use of the region. Only thereafter could the evacuation of the free town be ordered.

Aided by this limited degree of security, Christiania developed into a remarkable community that often contrasted strongly with the conventional society around it. The Christianites were a heterogeneous group holding no formal political or religious belief in common. The community was organized through a system of regional and community-wide town meetings, as well as its many work and living collectives.

Own what you use.

A woman I met during my visit told me there were two main things to remember about Christiania. First, a person can "own" only what he or she personally uses; for example, take over

a building and rent out space in it. And second, everyone has a chance to develop new or dormant skills and talents and put them to use. An exaggeration, perhaps, but lots of things are going on, from a large "flea market" that sold cheaply all sorts of useable junk—and also supplies elegant refinished farm furniture to the outside society at respectable prices—to a nearby carpenter shop that made simple but sturdy tables and chairs, as well as some luxury items for sale outside. Musicians and artists flourished and their work was valued both in and out of Christiania.

The present-day Christianites are a varied group. Some live in Christiania but work at jobs outside, while others, perhaps 200-300, work in Christiania itself. There are students on scholarships. There are nuclear families with kids, single adults, and communes and collectives of many sizes. There are people on welfare—more today, in a time of high unemployment, than formerly.

Christiania has always harbored a number of "social losers"—people unable to cope with conventional modern life, many of whom would be institutionalized outside. Here they are tolerated and sometimes helped; they can live independently. The losers include alcoholics, people who are retarded, weak or just a bit crazy, and also some drug addicts and small-time criminals.

The Copenhagen police contend that Christiania is a source of crime. The evidence doesn't bear this out. There are few authenticated cases of crimes committed by Christianites outside the free town, while many of the problems in Christiania itself are caused by the numerous outsiders who drift in and out daily. Small-time criminals do come to Christiania and live there; often they are youths with juvenile records. Sometimes such people live quite poorly in Christiania.

But in case after case, according to a government report, they do not continue to commit crimes.

According to Copenhagen University criminologist Flemming Balvig; "Christiania has had a regulating and damping effect on criminality in Copenhagen," and it is now "the most important research area for criminal policy" in Denmark.

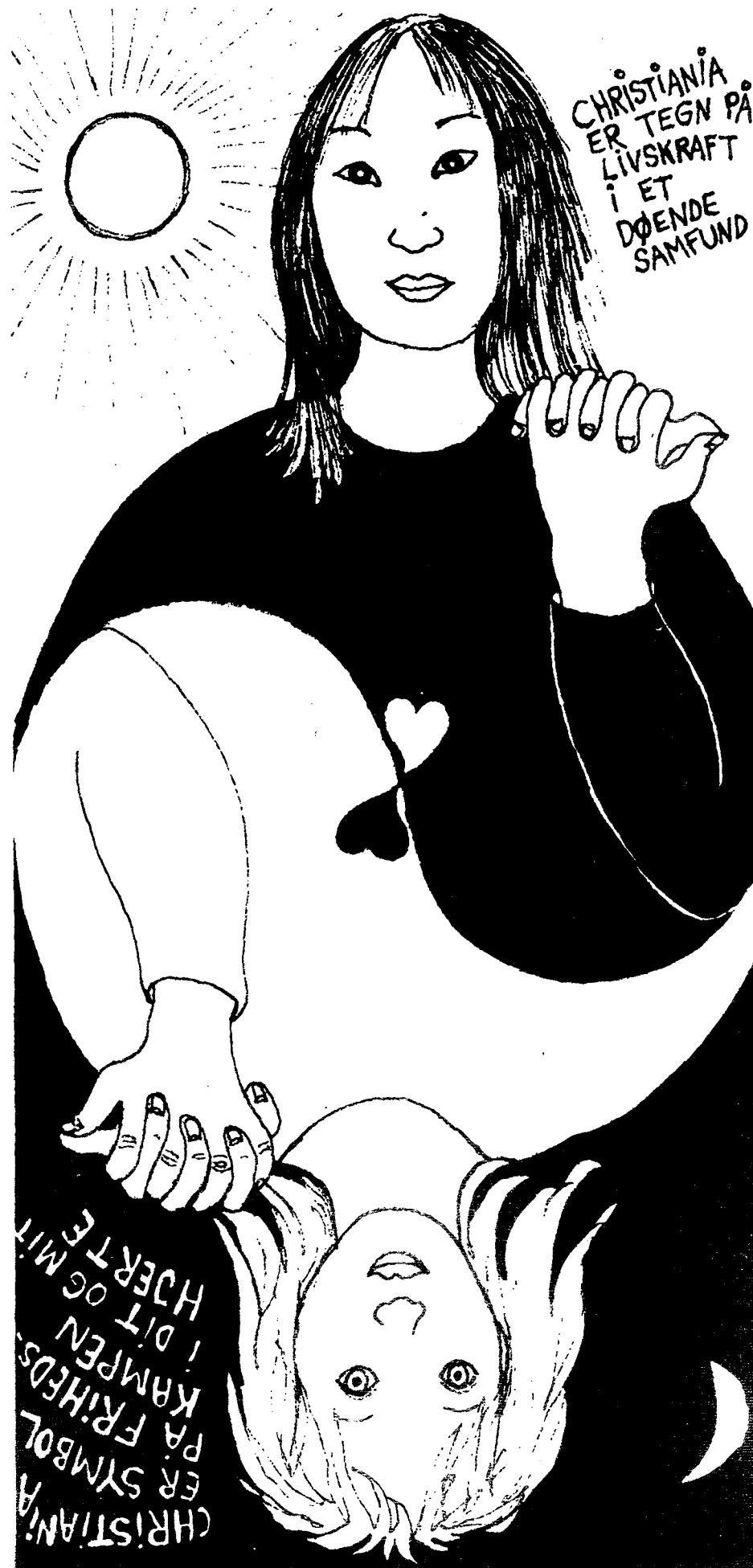
## Bicentennial Indians.

Even a brief description of Christiania must mention the theater group Solvogren (The Sun's Chariot), one of the most imaginative to be found anywhere. Most of its members live in Christiania, and they stage productions both there (in a huge former riding academy) and in the streets of Copenhagen. Sometimes they go even further afield. The hills of Rebild, in the Jutland peninsula, are traditionally the site of American Fourth of July celebrations. For the 1976 American Bicentennial a spectacular event was planned, with speeches by Queen Margaret and the American ambassador and international TV coverage.

In this festivity certain groups of Americans were forgotten—until a band of mounted Indians rode over the hilltop just as the Queen began to speak. Some spectators thought them part of the planned program until the police began a vicious and quite unnecessary attack. The "Indians," of course, were Solvogren.

Copenhagen still talks of the "Santa Claus army" that invaded it in December 1974. Starting as naive, traditional Santa Clauses, the army (all from Solvogren) became more political day by day as they experienced the corruption of Christmas by greed and capitalism. They ended their week's visit by giving away books from the shelves of several department stores to startled but happy customers, until the police arrived to haul them off.

Last year, it was "The animals go into



The cover of a pamphlet put out by Christianites.

action!" From a leaflet: "A great outbreak of different animals will be the framework for a series of actions. From the 16 to the 22 of December the animals will go into battle against the worst sources of pollution and the worst examples of housing profiteering." This was Solvogren again, with a little help from friends.

## Last-ditch resistance.

Despite all this, or because of it, Christiania has powerful enemies both in and out of government. Before the three-year period of recognition expired on April 1, 1976, Parliament had voted to evacuate Christiania and destroy many of its buildings.

As April 1 approached, the Christianites did not fade away as was hoped; instead they prepared for militant non-violent defense of their homes and community. When the crucial day arrived friends and supporters assembled to help—nearly 30,000 strong! The government wisely backed away from a confrontation of this magnitude and postponed the eviction order. The possible battle then turned into a happy demonstration and march through the city, followed by a festival to which all were invited.

The Eastern District Court found last February that the Defense Ministry does have authority to order the evacuation. (The judges went on to recognize Christiania's social value and to doubt the wisdom of taking such an action, but that part of the ruling is not binding on the government.) The Christianites decided

at a stormy town meeting to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court. The negative decision there on Feb. 2 was not a surprise, but the appeal process at least provided another year's respite.

Some further delay is certain, and Christiania has again been mobilizing for defense. The adverse court ruling returns the problem to the political arena and many Christianites hope to win their fight there. The press and TV has become much more positive toward the free town than they were at first, and polls show that public opinion has also changed for the better.

But a last-ditch resistance is being organized too, in case it is needed—or to help deter a violent attack. If a forcible eviction is ordered, the police (and possibly soldiers) will face not the 1,000 Christianites alone, but many thousands of their allies, both Danish and foreign, organized for resistance that could resemble but surpass May Day in Washington, D.C., in 1971.

Friends of Christiania have formed a support organization. Inquiries and contributions from abroad are welcome and needed; books, records, cards and posters are also available. Write to: Stot Christiania, Dronningensgade 14, 1420 København K, Denmark.

John Lamperti lives in Norwich, Vt., and teaches mathematics at Dartmouth College; in 1972-73 he was a visiting professor in Aarhus, Denmark. Together with his son Matthew Lamperti, he lived in Christiania for six weeks during the summer of 1977.



# A REPORTER IN HAVANA: THE FIRST TRICKLE OF THE TOURIST FLOOD

Photos by Mel Rosenthal

BY STEPHEN KINZER

The first thing a return visitor to Cuba notices these days is the startling increase in American and Canadian tourists. "Why, we're from Shreveport, Louisiana," exclaimed an ebullient fellow in the elevator of the Havana Riviera Hotel, which was built by Meyer Lansky in 1956, just three years before Castro took power. "Where you-all from?"

A few years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the State department could not limit travel to Cuba by American citizens. Last year, the Carter administration eased other travel restrictions. At the same time, the Cuban authorities have been concentrating on attracting foreigners as an ideal—or at least conventional—way to attract much-needed foreign currency. The results are just beginning to show.

All of this, of course, is great news for Americans. Ordinary citizens may now take a firsthand look at a nation that has been portrayed here for 19 years as implacably hostile and unbearably repressive. The effect of the tourism boom on Cubans, on the other hand, has yet to be seen.

Americans especially will bring to the island difficult challenges to the "revolutionary morality" that is prevalent here today. A Boston travel agent now arranging trips to Cuba says he is certain that American visitors "will corrupt the Cubans with tipping," a practice ended by a vote of workers in 1968, during to so-called "Revolutionary Offensive." The Union of Service and Restaurant Workers, aware of the challenge, recently passed a resolution "categorically rejecting tipping as a corrupting element of our revolutionary customs and a humiliating relaxation of our revolutionary ethic."

But the problem goes deeper than restaurant politics. Visitors can buy items in hotel shops that are unavailable to (and often much desired by) Cubans. Black marketeering will inevitably develop. Already some prostitutes are servicing guests at Havana hotels—common anywhere else in the Americas, but unheard of in revolutionary Cuba. And it seems at least possible that drugs could enter Cuba in tourists' suitcases.

President Fidel Castro appears acutely aware of such possibilities, but he has pointed out that "a wall does not have to be built around our island. The real defense has to be in our political awareness and the dignity of every Cuban."

★ ★ ★

The most popular film in Cuba today is *El Brigadista*, directed by Humberto Solas. Castro himself referred to the film in a recent speech as "very good," and on Saturday night, the line outside the Yara theater in downtown Havana seemed endless even by Cuban standards.

The film tells the story of a 16-year-old boy who became a member of the great literacy campaign that was Cuba's most important domestic event of 1961. Castro had concluded that he could never build a revolutionary society in an illiterate country, and he closed down the schools for a year so that all students could participate in a national campaign to teach everyone in Cuba to read and write. The *brigadistas*, as the young teachers were called, represent to Cubans both the revolution's priorities and its constant dangers. (The *brigadistas* were attacked, and some killed, by counterrevolutionaries then still active in the countryside.)

The audience is enthusiastic. This film naturally attracts an especially large number of young people, who laugh and clap at appropriate moments.

For those who may not be interested in native films (some Cubans still joke about acquaintances who feel that everything imported is better than anything Cuban), there are foreign films from around the world. Among the films playing in Havana were Jerry Lewis' *The Nutty Professor*, Lindsay Anderson's *O Lucky Man!*, and *The Seven Year Itch*. Two weeks ago, the evening TV movie was *Singin' in the Rain*, but I couldn't see it because the other guests in the hotel lobby (few private rooms have TVs) wanted to watch the national baseball tournament.

★ ★ ★

"There is only one real newspaper in Cuba," a taxi driver explained to a visiting reporter. "It is Fidel, when he speaks to the people."



Castro's periodic speeches are much anticipated. It is during these discourses, and not from the daily press, that Cubans find out the good and bad news and learn what new policies their government is adopting. On Dec. 25, the 51-year-old leader addressed the second session of the year-old National Assembly of People's Power, Cuba's legislature.

In the U.S. press, great attention was given to Castro's reaffirmation of Cuban aid to African countries ("Cuba's solidarity with the African peoples is not negotiable") and the effect of this policy on U.S.-Cuban relations.

"It's all right for the imperialists to have troops and advisers everywhere in the world," said Castro, "but we can't have them anywhere. That's a fine concept the United States government has of logic, equity and equality."

But this was all old news to the Cuban people. Far more significant for them was their president's declaration that strengthening the economy would, for the years to come, take precedence over increasing the level of consumption by Cubans. In effect, he warned his people that the sacrifices still needed to build the Revolution preclude any significant improvement in the standard of living.

"I firmly believe that we actually shouldn't believe in increasing our consumption.... We shouldn't speak of living conditions, of improving living conditions. We believe that our revolutionary people should be told very frankly that the present living conditions must be maintained but that we must also consolidate our economy and cut down on our dependence on imports from capitalist countries."

Cuba has been badly hurt by the wild fluctuations of the price of sugar on the world market, and Castro sounded as if he is now even more determined, after recent price drops, to buffer his country against economic misfortunes, since he cannot control them.

"If we were starving, if we were poverty-stricken, this would be out of the question," he hastened to add. "We are all consumed by a feverish desire to do more and to achieve as much as we can for our people. But unfortunately, this generation of revolutionary militants and of revolutionary leaders must resign itself to the fact that it was its lot to participate in the worst part of a revolution."

Castro professes a strong belief in the immutability of moral principles, and he often includes in his speeches examples of what he views as the hypocrisy of his enemies. In last month's speech, he took indirect note of a letter sent to him by 41 U.S. Senators asking him to free Huber Matos, the most hated counterrevolutionary in Cuba, who has been in jail for attempting to organize a military revolt against Castro just a few months after he took power in 1959.



"They like to tell us that we must release Cuban counterrevolutionary prisoners. Our answer is this: All right, you free an equal number of U.S. blacks who had to go to jail because of the regime of exploitation, the hunger, the poverty, the discrimination and the unemployment that the United States reserves for a large part of its black population, and we'll release all the counterrevolutionary prisoners who are left in Cuba." (He indicated that there are now fewer than 3,000, "and there was a time when there were over 15,000.")

Among the Americans visiting Cuba are a number of government officials interested in the extraordinary social advances of the Cuban revolution, which far exceed those of developing countries with greater natural resources. But it was nonetheless startling to turn around in a downtown Havana bookshop and see Boston State Rep. Melvin King and his wife leafing through a history of the United Fruit Company's pre-revolutionary operations in Cuba. King seemed equally taken aback at meeting a constituent in such an unlikely spot.

King, who says he is running for mayor of Boston in 1979, has a strong interest in neighborhoods, so it was natural that he attend a meeting of a local Committee for the Defense of the Revolution. The committees are mass organizations (meaning that all citizens are encouraged to join) established on every block in Cuba. Originally set up as "local vigilance committees" to protect against invasion and infiltration, they now serve as the local arms of the revolution. They organize blood drives, oversee recycling of paper, cardboard, metal, and glass, conduct vaccination programs and administer political discussion groups.

CDR Number 15 of Zone Six in Havana covers a three-block area including one school, one store and one factory warehouse. Of the 94 people living in the area, 84 are *cederistas*, or members of the CDR.

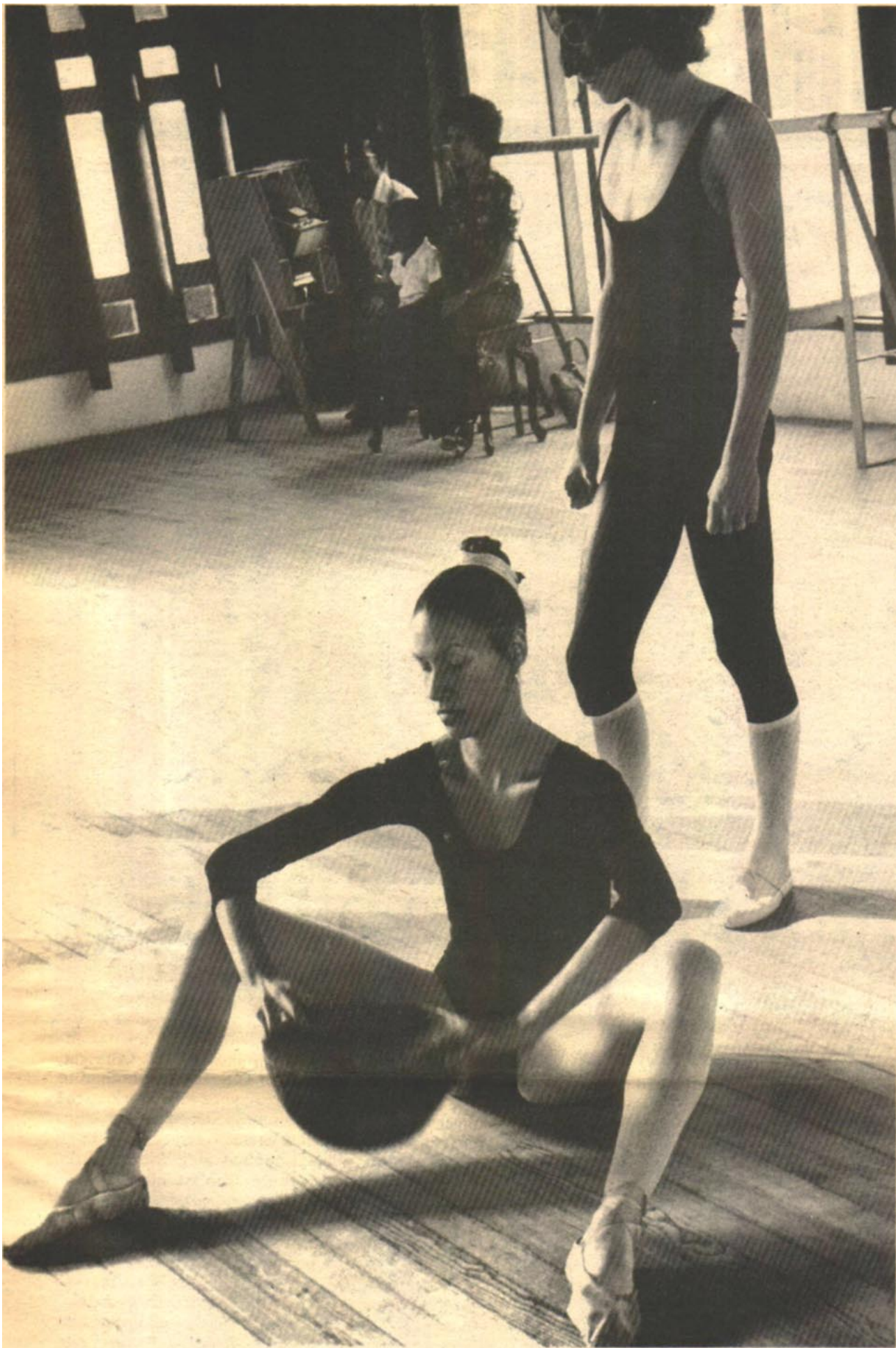
What seemed most to interest King was the civic functioning of the committee. He wanted to hear how members resolved local problems; by way of illustration, he was told a story of the neighborhood bakery that produced inferior bread. Leaders of the CDR have complained to authorities and to the management of the bakery.

"How is the bread now?" King asked.

"Still not as good as at other stores," admitted the secretary for organization of the local chapter. "We're still working on it."

King also seemed fascinated by the volunteer vigilance patrols, which walk the neighborhood streets between 11 p.m. and 5 a.m. He became engaged in an extended discussion about security patrols in the U.S., and surprised some of the Cubans by admitting that in some cases, regular police take offense at these local patrols, viewing them as competition. The Cubans also seemed puzzled





Opposite page, left: A worker at the INPUD factory making refrigerators; opposite right: Chicho Ibanez, 101 year old Cuban folksinger at the tomb of Jose Marti; top: at the Ballet Company of Camagüey province; above: Home of the National Modern Dance Company.

when King told them about the incidence of street crime in the U.S.

As he was leaving the meeting, which was held on a balcony just a few blocks up from the waterfront, one Cuban asked King through an interpreter, "Are you related to Martin King?"

The South End legislator smiled broadly, thought for a moment, and answered, "What we call 'soul brothers.'"

★ ★ ★

As is true in most countries, cultural life in Cuba still functions on different levels. The government has made great efforts to bring culture to the masses without disturbing the most famous of the nation's cultural institutions, the distinctly non-proletarian National Ballet of Cuba.

The ballet performed on Sunday Jan. 8 at the magnificent colonial Garcia Lorca theater in Havana. Much of the performance was remarkably modern, at times even *avant-garde*, though the classical base of the company remained quite visible. The program began with Ivan Tenorio's choreography of Lorca's *House of Bernarda Alba*, and continued through a version of *Don Quixote* directed by the company's *prima ballerina*, Alicia Alonso, to its climax, *Carmen*, with Alonso in the title role.

Alonso is nearly blind now and has undergone a series of operations for cataracts. But aside from the absence of dramatic leaps from her performance, it was impossible to tell, even difficult to believe, that her vision was any less than perfect. Her appearance on stage sparked applause in the packed house, and her flawless performance was the high point of an evening that might just as easily have taken place 20 years ago.

★ ★ ★

All of Cuba is mobilizing for the 11th International Youth and Student Festival, which will take place in Havana this summer. The festival occurs every five years, and the Cubans are particularly proud that this will be the first time it has ever been held outside of Europe. The first few were limited to young people from socialist countries; more recently, though, capitalist countries have been sending delegations as well.

Roughly 18,000 young people will converge on Havana at the end of July, including nearly 2,000 from the Soviet Union and a like number of Cubans. The American delegation, now being put together by a coalition of leftist and liberal groups based in New York, will include nearly 200 youths.

The logistical problems alone are mind-boggling: where to put all these people, how to feed them, what sort of events to program. There will be political discussions, presentations about the state of the struggle in Africa and elsewhere, athletic competitions, visits to other parts of the island, and exchange of information and gifts from around the world. Already 80 National Preparatory Commissions have been set up in countries around the world, and hundreds of young foreigners are already in Cuba helping the hosts prepare for the many delegations.

But the two-week festival itself is almost secondary to Cubans. It has become a rallying point for production and enthusiasm across the island. Everywhere workers explained that for the festival they will work harder, cut more sugar, pack more fruit, produce more cement. Preparations for the event have taken on aspects of a national mobilization, prompting one visitor to suggest that if it were canceled the day before it is scheduled to begin, the Cubans would already have achieved their goal of increased production "in salute of the 11th Festival."

Billboards everywhere display the logo for the festival with the legend, "Every Cuban an Activist for the Festival." Local youth groups and CDRs are making and selling small items like hats and shell sculptures to raise money for the event, which is expected to cost more than \$60 million altogether. The hope is that the government will not have to dip into the budget for the funds needed to assure a success. Two of Cuba's 14 provinces have already met their quotas; in the others, street fairs and garage sales will continue until the money is raised.

★ ★ ★

Just across the park from the Lorca theater is the Floridita, the famous bar where Ernest Hemingway used to hold court every day over what he always insisted were the best daiquiris in the world. (Their quality, as near as I can determine, has not declined.) On the wall is a framed article from an ancient *Esquire* naming "The World's Seven Greatest Bars." The Floridita and New York's 21 Club were the only watering holes in this hemisphere to make the list.

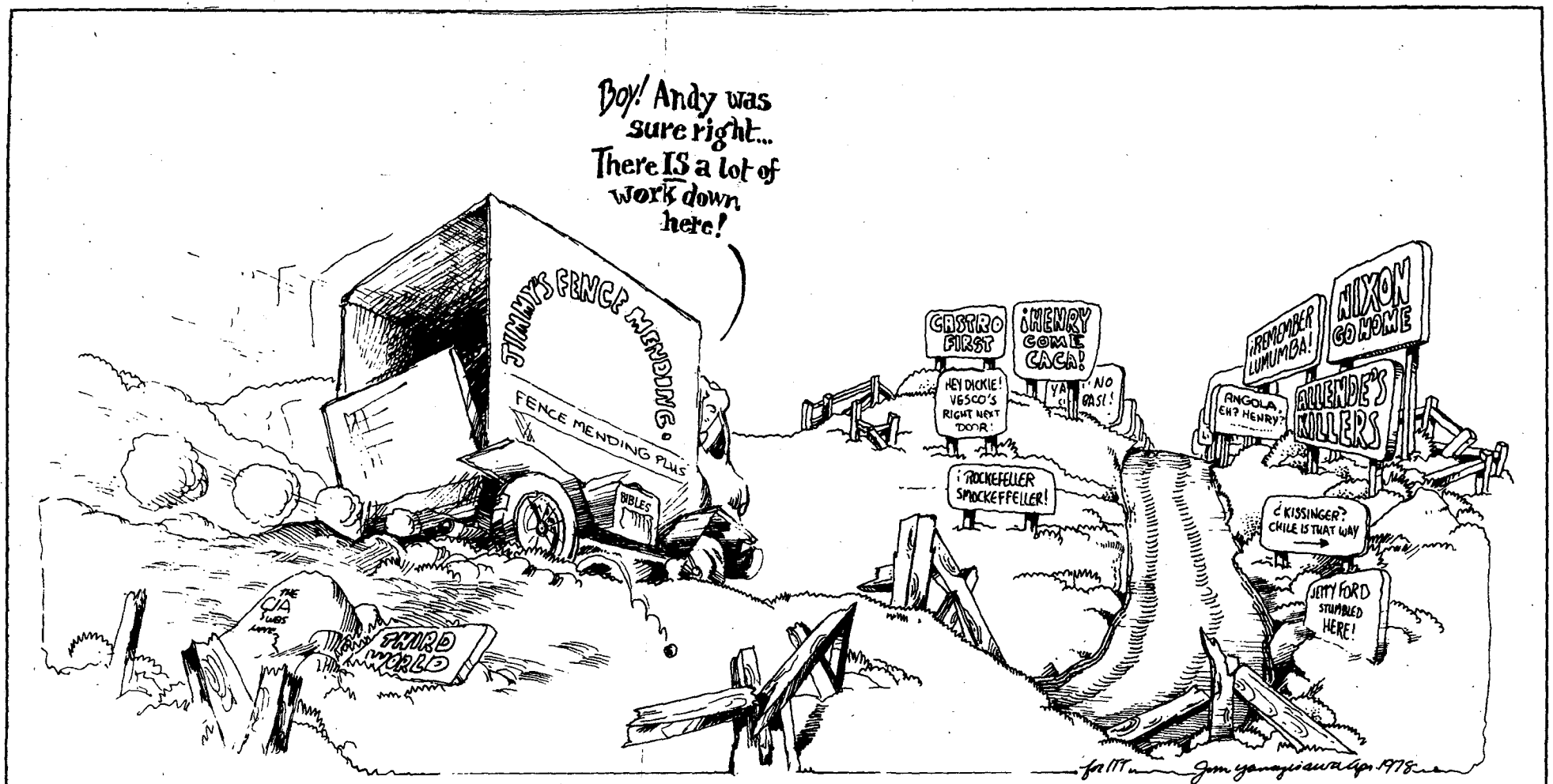
Above the bar is a bust of the place's most famous patron, with the inscription, "Our Friend Ernest Hemingway, Nobel Prize for Literature."

Besides its daiquiris, the Floridita offers first-class cuisine and (unusual in Cuba) excellent service. (A diplomat at the newly-established U.S. interest section in Havana confided that only there could he find truly outstanding lobster.) Lobster was unavailable, so we settled for the other specialty of the house, red snapper. It couldn't have been better during the old man's time. ■ Stephen Kinzer is a reporter from the *Boston Phoenix* who visited Cuba earlier this year.



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial



## On the one hand, give them all jobs...

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill, passed by the House last month and now before the Senate, presents socialists with the classic half-a-loaf puzzle: whether to support a bill that may be closer to a crust than to even a tiny part of a loaf, or to oppose it and separate themselves from labor, black, farmer, church and women's movements working hard for its passage.

We argued the inadequacies of the bill and the need for a left alternative (Feb. 1), when its passage by either house of Congress seemed unlikely. But now that it has reached the Senate the situation is different.

At its very heart, the bill expresses the opposing forces working for and against genuine full employment planning. It declares the "right of every American to useful employment," and then in effect says, "Not now and maybe never." It calls for hitting a target of a 4 percent unemployment rate five years after passage, allows for missing even that modest goal to fight inflation or bulging budget deficits, and requires no specific government programs to achieve the goal. The bill subordinates the public to the private sector and social to corporate investment, thereby assuring continued substantial levels of unemployment.

Before passage in the House, numerous other declarations were tacked on to the bill in addition to that of (less than) full employment. Among these were: jobs aid to veterans and the handicapped, insuring availability of day care centers, giving farmers 100 percent of parity, balancing the budget, extending aid to small business, providing flexitime for working mothers, protecting jobs from imports, balancing regional development, developing alternate modes of transportation and energy.

The bill's opponents hope that in being so overloaded it would be fatally undermined. California Republican Representative Charles E. Wiggins derided the bill as "an unworkable monster"—a "seedling...grown into a Christmas tree [that] it would be merciful to chop...down."

Wiggins' metaphor, however inadvertently, pinpoints what in the bill won it broad support and why socialists should support it.

The Christmas tree is a symbol of human compassion and community rising

above the business-as-usual landscape. In a way, the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, gnarled and deformed though it is, contains an evergreen of hope enduring a wintry season of conservatism. A myriad of interests, inhibited by corporate power, are grafting onto it their hopes for later growth when the thaw comes.

In declaring many goals to be achieved by the federal government, the bill implicitly acknowledges that an economy serving people's needs is not to be expected from "free enterprise," but requires social planning through government action. It implies a vote of no confidence in the "free market."

In requiring the President and Congress to formulate annual programs and five year projections oriented to achieving full employment and the other stated goals, the bill establishes a precedent in the nation's law for social planning subject to democratic discussion and control. By lodging responsibility with Congress as well as the President it enhances the role of the legislative branch in the planning process.

In requiring the Federal Reserve Board to make an annual report showing the extent to which its policies are consistent

with Presidential and Congressional programs, the bill begins to submit the central banking power to public scrutiny.

In general, there remains in the bill, after all its gutting and after all the guarantees for "private enterprise," a step toward a social initiative in shaping the economy. In making social goals a subject of annual political debate and contention, it challenges absolute corporate domination of the investment system. It also suggests a model for legislation at the state and local levels.

Very rudimentarily, timidly, grudgingly, the bill in these respects embodies the outlook brought into the modern world by the socialist tradition. It surrounds and all but suffocates socialist ideas with capitalist priorities, but it indicates in spite of itself that the U.S., however inarticulately, is no exception to the force of socialist impulses generated by capitalism.

For these reasons, the partisans of the corporate way are opposed to the bill, with all its ineffectuality. But the bill's shrewder opponents know that they play Scrooge at their political peril. Instead they are posing as the woodsman sparing that tree while doing everything to sap it.

Socialists can join with the popular

movements fighting for the bill, and in so doing make more explicit its implicit meanings, point up its inadequacies and contradictions and the need for strengthening amendments, and cooperate with those who see, or may come to see, the bill as a first step in a long, hard struggle. We may also point out how the attainment of full employment and social justice is hobbled when lobbying "at the top" is not backed up by a popular politics at the grass roots and by organizing to elect explicitly anti-corporate, pro-labor, and socialist candidates to legislative office.

In the passage of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act sixty-four years ago, the law of the land declared that labor is not a commodity. That declaration has never been fulfilled; capitalism carried on with impunity in routine violation of the law. If the full employment objectives contained in the Humphrey-Hawkins bill remain unperfected, if they do not become the occasion for going much farther, they will end up like the Clayton Act declaration. Their fulfillment, however, would go far to fulfilling also that older declaration and in ways far surpassing Sam Gompers' intent when he prematurely dubbed it "Labor's Magna Carta." ■

## Rank and file miners need leaders, too

After the longest, most unified and disciplined coal strike in the history of their union, the coal miners are back at work. It was a strike that the operators had wanted. They believed that the combination of large supplies of coal and a weak union leadership would enable them to rescind the gains the miners had won in their 1974 contract. The operators' calculations were not far off. Only the extraordinary maturity and class consciousness of the miners prevented the operators from gutting the contract and crippling the union. If ever there was a strike in which rank and file determination and sophistication were decisive, this was it.

And yet, there was the rub. For in the end the rank and file alone were not strong enough to impose their will on the corporations and to prevent a weakening of the old contract provisions.

As we reported last week, many min-

ers knew an unsatisfactory contract would finally be approved because the men were "tired of sending their leaders up there and getting the same thing back." The union leaders knew what the miners wanted. They could count on complete unity and militant support. But the miners believed that to the union leadership "it doesn't matter what the rank and file think."

The crisis in the national leadership of the union was in large part a legacy of the John L. Lewis-Tony Boyle days, when the union was run with an iron fist and often with little or no regard for the wishes or needs of the members. The result was that with the overthrow of the old regime there were no experienced leaders who could effectively represent the interests of the rank and file. When Arnold Miller was elected president it was the first time in his life that he held a union office. His floundering and his spineless behav-

ior in the face of the industry's powerful and worldly-wise negotiators was at least in part a result of his being a novice.

The experience of the strike, and of the series of wildcat strikes over the last year—strikes that were at least partly caused by the absence of strong, sympathetic national leaders—points up the necessity for a well trained and truly representative leadership.

This experience also points up the need for leftists active in rank and file movements not to be anti-leadership, but actively to participate in the emergence of a leadership that will responsibly represent the members' views. On the local and district levels, the strike seems to have accelerated this process of development. But the survival of the UMW as the representative of a majority of miners will require the extension of this process to the national level as well. ■



# Letters

## The worm turns

**A**FTER BLITZKRIEG WHAT, OH Israel? A "final solution" perhaps to die *Palestinenfrage*?

—Paul Tarsus  
Washington, D.C.

## Punk, Schmunk

**I**F MANIFEST DESTINY IS THE Dictators' "debut album" (*ITT*, Mar. 22), then what do you call the album they released three years ago? This would be a quibble if it weren't symptomatic of the problems with Michael Kimmel's review of the Dictators and the Strangers.

What does either band have to do with punk rock? The Dictators play a kind of heavy metal rock that is hardly "new wave." And the Strangers sound like warmed-over Doors to me, and to most critics with ears. Putting every new, mildly outrageous rock band under the punk rubric simply will not do.

Surely we need more rigorous critical standards than Kimmel's. If punk in Great Britain is an angry, minimal, fast-moving music played by working-class youth, then why lump the Strangers—whose leaders, Hugh Cornwell and Jean Jacques Burnel, are both college graduates from upper-middle-class families, around 30 years old, and long-time rock musicians—with the new music?

Kimmel's main point—that there's a difference between British and U.S. punk—is no doubt true, but hardly novel.

—Dan Devine  
San Francisco

## The Nazis are not the real menace

**I**N REPLY TO DAN ROTHBART'S letter (*ITT*, Mar. 22), I was there at the St. Louis Nazi march and what I saw I didn't like. Not the Nazis. I didn't hear a word from them. It was the football helmeted mob behind them yelling "Death to the Nazis" that repulsed me.

Ten years ago I watched the left get the shit beat out of them to stop a war and now I see the left demanding that a few (I emphasize few) nuts be lynched because of their ideas!

What has happened?! Ever since 1925 the Nazis have been using the socialist/Trotskyite left to get them power. Yes, the single most powerful tool the Nazis had in Germany was the fear of further communist revolutions like the one in 1919-21. Now, the left is playing right into the Nazis' hands again. I suspect this is because leaders of the left (like Rothbart) are simply either too ignorant of history or too stupid in general to realize this. The best way to stop the Nazis is to leave them alone! (At least, physically.) There are so few of them they'd have a hard time beating some of the smaller socialist parties in an election.

With 99 percent of the country hating their very sight, why worry? Now the KKK and other right-wing parties, maybe, but the Nazis are a joke. However, I do see a very great danger: Rothbart. If we let such thinking dominate the socialist left, we no longer would need to fear the Nazis. It would be the opposite part of the political spectrum that would be the threat to freedom.

—George Heth  
Granite City, Ill.

## Boxed in

**E**LISSA CLARKE (*ITT*, MAR. 22) correctly points out that the union shop steward system in auto plants has deteriorated. During the 25 years that I

conducted union education at UAW locals I witnessed this deterioration. In my book, *The UAW from Crusade to One Party Union*, I record the conversation I had with a young worker in the Chrysler Plymouth plant. He told me:

"You old guys always brag about your victories. No one will deny that they were great victories. Fringe benefits are fine, paid vacations, pensions, holiday pay—all are fine.

"But how about what goes on in the shop? You old birds should work in the shop on some of those unsafe machines, slip on oily floors, stumble over castings and stock boxes that clutter aisles, breathe in the fumes and chemicals, work your ass off to keep up on the assembly line, shiver in winter when there's not enough heat and swelter in summer when there's no ventilation."

I told him that in the early days of the CIO workers could settle grievances on the job. Stewards had power to call workers off the job until pressing grievances got settled. But later labor-management relations took power away from stewards. A no-strike pledge was added to contracts, which gave management the right to fire workers and stewards involved in work stoppages.

In time the auto workers not only lost control over their work, but also over their union. The UAW's democratic factionalism evolved into a one-party state and the union hierarchy worked hand-in-hand with management to discipline workers.

Today the union-management framework has the workers boxed in. The union's constitution is stacked against them. So is the union contract; so are the International officers and representatives. And if the workers rebel against this formidable combination they will soon learn that government boards, the courts and the forces of law and order are also stacked against them.

—Frank Marquart  
Albuquerque, N.M.

## Information please

**A**T CORNELL UNIVERSITY WE are attempting to reconstruct the historical conditions under which producer cooperative enterprises started in the U.S. From our study of the last 180 years of American history, we hope to derive conclusions relevant to the cooperative movement today. A major problem facing us is the lack of primary sources.

The definition of producer cooperatives we are using excludes agricultural and consumer cooperatives. By producers' cooperatives we mean producing organizations in which members attempt to gain control over the use of their own labor. Examples are the boot and shoe cooperatives in New England, the Coopers' cooperative in Minneapolis, and plywood cooperatives on the West Coast.

Any information readers could send would be appreciated. Please send information to: Prof. Howard Aldrich, NYSSILR, Cornell University, 387 Ives Hall, Ithaca, NY 14853.

—Howard Aldrich  
Ithaca, N.Y.

## In praise of Gornick

**I**T IS HARDLY SURPRISING THAT a book portraying American communists as ordinary, even attractive human beings—even as ordinary human beings—would elicit all sorts of reviews, ranging from *Commentary* spleen to admiration. The subject, even all these years later, often triggers visceral responses. I happen to admire greatly Vivian Gornick's *The Romance of American Communism* and said so in my review in the *Chicago Tribune*.

Incidentally, that such a review should appear routinely in that paper is no little commentary on how much the times have changed. I can see, however, how reasonable people at various points along the political spectrum could have a different view.

But the negative portions of Maurice Isserman's review seem to depend on a critical tool denied all but him. He says that "Unfortunately, she does not often let her subjects speak for themselves..." and "ends up developing a set of stereotypes of the Communist experience as flat and unconvincing as those churned out by the sectarian and witch-hunting schools of communist historiography."

How does Isserman know what took place at those interviews? Or does he have a unique capacity to know—because the interviews didn't turn out the way he thinks they should have—that they were improperly conducted, whether consciously or unconsciously, to document the thesis that Gornick brought to them?

I wasn't there either and I don't know whether Gornick had a thesis before she began her project or whether the thesis emerged from the interviews. In a case like that (which is to say with almost all books), the reader can only depend on the writer's reputation (splendid) and on the evidence of the book itself. To me that evidence is both moving and convincing. And in any case it hardly seems remarkable to assert that the Communists were motivated by passion and that that passion in most cases caused them to "do terrible things to themselves and to one another."

Finally, if caring deeply made the Communists a stereotype, although in Gornick's superbly-written profiles they appeared to be a richly varied lot, I wish the mainstream parties would also qualify.

—Richard J. Walton

Richard J. Walton is the author of *Henry Wallace, Harry Truman and the Cold War*, among other books.

## Pleased

**P**LEASE ADD US TO YOUR LIST of subscribers. We are pleased, generally, with the fiber and content of your newspaper, getting information that is difficult to find in our local dailies.

Whether we agree with your opinions or not, the in-depth coverage of some stories of today's world is a valuable source of information, to be thought about, talked about, and translated into action.

—R. Simmons  
San Francisco

## Throw away those crutches

**T**HROUGH THE EYES OF A Socialist, I suppose capitalism does resemble "ruins going to seed, overrun by weeds of inflation, unemployment, cynicism and exhausted possibilities beyond the repair of all the king's wizards and their technological magic" (*ITT* editorial, Mar. 22). Likewise, the capitalist views socialism as a political and economic philosophy inherently destructive, obstructing individual liberty and preventing a society from reaching its fullest potential in terms of economic growth and development—a system that reeks of inefficiency and produces individuals lacking incentive.

However, to the realist, the preceding description of capitalism would seem not to necessarily apply; while the definition of socialism would probably, like it or not, be on target.

Capitalism is constantly being knocked by the left, but the true capitalist philosophy has yet to be embraced by any country, so the criticisms of a nonexistent system becomes meaningless. It is true that inflation, poverty and unemployment abound in America—one of the most capitalistic nations on this planet—but this does not necessarily mean capitalism is the culprit.

Perpetual deficit spending, crowding out in the financial markets, increased taxes, and government moving perilously closer to the left (none of which are true capitalistic traits) are the real causes of the economic degradation of this

country. Of course businesses will not perform in such an atmosphere—and, of course, inflation and unemployment will worsen under such conditions.

I often hear that a true socialist system would be ideal—if only it could be accomplished—Total Equality! However, men were not meant to be equal. The harder workers, those who possess the attributes of perseverance, determination and drive should be rewarded. Government should only enter the scene as the "great equalizer" to assure equality of opportunity. Each of us should be given the same chance to advance ourselves. Upgrading educational facilities and providing easier access to these facilities by all is the answer. Beyond that, the individual should be left on his/her own to reach his/her fullest potential—without the crutch of socialism.

—James W. Kirkpatrick  
Kansas City, Mo.

## The right appeal to the wrong people

**W**HEN MARTIN CHANCEY ASKS the left parties to unite (*ITT*, Mar. 22), he is making the right appeal to the wrong people. Why trust the future of American socialism to a few thousand sectarians who care more about their own organizations than about building a popular socialist movement?

Let us, instead, look at the two million unaffiliated leftists, and the millions of issue-oriented activists in the health, environmental, labor, education, etc. movements. These people are not waiting for the "left" to "come to its senses." If many of their efforts are weak and isolated, it is because none of us have developed a compelling vision of a new society.

This vision is more likely to come from people with left ideas immersed in the mass movement, than from one of the left parties. The vision must be understandable to all, even its opponents. It should be as appealing as fundamentalism, as true as "science," exciting, hopeful, responsible, moral and possible. It will show a new world, already in the belly of the old. Community, equality, sacrifice—values already held by the majority of people, can be the basis of this movement.

**I**N THESE TIMES seems to be trying to reach the two million unaffiliated leftists. But *ITT* and the two million seem to suffer much the same problem: Isolation. Many leftists reach into the mass movement on single issues, and *ITT* reaches these with analysis of some issues and some socialist perspective. But nobody yet reaches into the bulk of the blue and white collar working class population with socialist ideas.

We must destroy any notion of the left as "future managers." From the people, the left should learn humility and working equality. To the people, the left can bring its understanding and vision.

How? First a national network of interested people. Then, fliers on specific issues (nuclear power, Israel, miners, etc.) that develop our common goals. Distributed at plant gates, shopping centers, regularly—the feed-back brought to the pages of *ITT* or a new national co-ordinating publication. What do you think?

—Frank Kashner  
Lynn, Mass.

## Making a Big Move?

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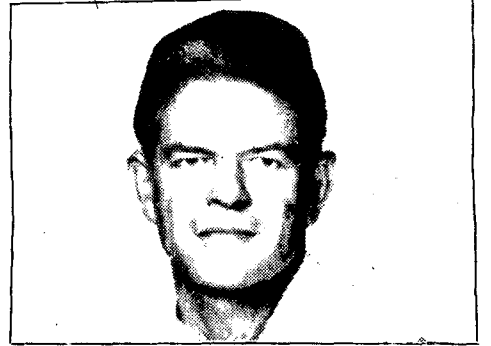
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Staughton Lynd

## Labor and the Law

# Issues raised by the coal strike



The miners' right to strike is under attack from three directions: 1. In contract negotiations; 2. In Congress; 3. In the courts.

The contract agreed to by UMW negotiators on Feb. 6 contained a new "job stability" article permitting an employer to discharge all or some employees who have "picketed, threatened, coerced, fomented or otherwise been involved in the cause of an unauthorized work stoppage." (*Coal Patrol*, Feb. 15, 1977.) This contract was rejected by the Bargaining Council. The Pittsburgh & Midway contract agreed to after the Carter administration's intervention still provided for discipline of employees who cause an "unauthorized work stoppage or sympathy strike." (*New York Times*, Feb. 25, 1977.) This contract was rejected by the rank and file. So was the national contract presented for ratification on March 4-5, which contained a similar clause stating:

"Where it is determined that an employee has picketed or otherwise been actively involved in causing an unauthorized work stoppage or sympathy strike at the operation of any signatory employer, he shall be subject to discipline, including discharge." (Michael Yarrow, in *New York Times*, Mar. 15.)

The fourth contract, being voted on as this is written, reportedly withdraws the above article but substitutes "an even harsher anti-wildcat plan." (*New York Times*, Mar. 15.)

In Congress, as I pointed out last month, an amendment to the Labor Reform Act was adopted in the House of Representatives that states as follows:

"Where there exists an agreement between an employer and a labor organization, whether express or implied, not to strike, picket or lockout, the Board, if it finds that the public interest would be served thereby, shall have the power to

petition any district court of the United States within any district where either or both of the parties reside or transact business, for such temporary injunctive relief or restraining order as is necessary to prevent any person not authorized by a repre-

tract language and the Thompson amendment is not so much the wildcat strike as the sympathy strike.

The law already prohibits to the extent any law can prohibit something a strike by coal miners over an arbitrable grievance.

### Even without a no-strike clause in the new UMW contract, the law can imply such a restriction from the agreement to arbitrate disputes.

sentative of employees of the employer being struck or picketed from engaging in, or inducing or encouraging any employee of the employer to engage in conduct in breach of such agreement, irrespective of the nature of the dispute underlying such strike, picket or lockout, and such court shall have jurisdiction to grant to such party or the Board such temporary injunctive relief or restraining order as it deems just and proper."

This amendment was introduced by Frank Thompson of New Jersey, a liberal, and appears to be supported by the AFL-CIO. Thompson's amendment was offered as a substitute to an amendment by Rep. Ellenborn which would have permitted either the NLRB or "a party," i.e., the employer, to seek an injunction. It is unclear whether the Thompson substitute retains this element.

The amendment goes far beyond the Supreme Court decisions authorizing a federal court to enjoin an employee who strikes in violation of a no-strike clause. It authorizes a federal court to enjoin any one who induces or encourages an employee to strike in violation of a no-strike clause. It blatantly violates the First Amendment.

The real target of both the quoted con-

tract language and the Thompson amendment is not so much the wildcat strike as the sympathy strike.

Even if there is no no-strike clause in the contract, the law will imply such a clause from an agreement to arbitrate disputes. *Gateway Coal Co. vs. UMW*, 414 U.S. 368 (1974). Hence a court may enjoin such a strike.

But the situation is different if employees of Mine A set up a picket line at Mine B. The cause of picketing by the Mine A employees is not something that the Mine B employees have agreed to arbitrate, because it is not a dispute between the owners and employees of Mine B. The Supreme Court has held that a court may not enjoin the Mine B employees from honoring a picket line set up by the folks from Mine A. *Buffalo Forge Co., vs. United Steelworkers*, 428 U.S. 397 (1976).

This tiny opening in the legal armor of the employer is made to order for "roving pickets" in the mine fields. This is why the P&M contract sought to prohibit an "unauthorized work stoppage or sympathy strike," and why the Thompson amendment is to apply "irrespective of the nature of the dispute underlying such strike, picket or lockout."

The lower courts are also busy trying to circumvent the protection unintentionally made available to roving pickets in the mine fields by *Buffalo Forge*.

As one might expect, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, which hears appeals from district court cases in Pennsylvania, is leading the way. On Feb. 2, it handed down a frightening decision, *Republic Steel Corp. vs. Mine Workers*, 97 LRRM 2836.

In *Republic Steel* employees of the Nemacolin Mine owned by the Buckeye Coal Company set up picket lines at the Clyde and Banning Mines owned by Republic Steel. The court held that Republic could have been issued an injunction restraining its own employees from honoring the Nemacolin picket line if the dispute between the Nemacolin miners and Buckeye was itself arbitrable under the Nemacolin-Buckeye contract. Worse yet, it combined this holding with its holding in *Eazor Express vs. Teamsters*, 520 F. 2d 951 (3d Cir. 1975), according to which a union is liable in damages if it fails to do everything in its power, including the use of internal union discipline against strikers, to end an unauthorized strike. Accordingly, it held that the UMW international union could be liable in damages (money) to Republic for not stopping the Nemacolin strike because of "the crucial communication link which exists between the international union and both sets of strikers."

This country needs a constitutional amendment protecting the right to strike—and a socialist government to pass the amendment.

P.S. My little book, *Labor Law for the Rank and Filer*, is now available from Singlejack Books, Box 1906, San Pedro, CA 90733. It costs \$1.50.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and antiwar activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and Alice Lynd edited *Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers*. His address is 1694 Timber Court, Niles, OH 44446.

Manning Marable

## From the grassroots

# The politics of disco



It is hard to argue with success in capitalist America. The era of the '70s brought an end, at least temporarily, to the black music of commitment, soul and inspiration. Otis Redding and Carla Thomas are being replaced by the mindlessness of Barry White (or is it barely white?). Black teenagers began dancing to "Disco Duck" and "Saturday Night Fever." Leo Sayer and David Bowie became standard features on R&B charts. Mellow Marvin Gaye's message of "ain't nothing like the real thing" was transmuted into the bluntly exploitative "give it up." Black popular music replaced the Beatles and the Beach Boys; the Rolling Stones and Mick Jagger began to play reggae.

Now disco reigns supreme in the world of black music. The process is not hard to understand from a grassroots perspective. Commercial success and profits breed instant artistic imitators; creativity is buried along with the longstanding cultural traditions of the blues.

For every Stevie Wonder there is a George Benson, a skillful jazz musician-turned-vocalist. Even before his latest album, *Weekend in L.A.*, Benson had made several million album sales via his "Wonderesque" imitation of a Leon Russell song, "This Masquerade." For every James Brown we now have John Travolta of *Saturday Night Fever*, white America's response to "Please, please, please" on the disco dance floor. Disco itself can only be described as a shallow vein of "velvet-

ized" popular music, plastic and processed, 20 miles wide and two inches deep, cutting across the aesthetic plains of popular culture. The driving, overtly sensual sound of disco influences everything else on the music frontiers, driving the last remnants of creative soul underground.

### Disco now reigns supreme in the world of black music. The process is not hard to understand: Commercial success and profits breeds instant imitators; creativity gets buried with the blues.

No one would openly accuse the premier black instrumental group Earth, Wind and Fire of capitulating to the disco movement. The black group's true roots are found within jazz. EWF's leaders and creator, Maurice White, is a veteran of the Ramsey Lewis Trio. Recording for Warner Brothers in the early '70s, EWF was thought of as a jazz group rather than within the Barry White/Donna Summer school of popular music. EWF developed a small but loyal elite of followers during those hungry years, but its records were far from being commercially successful.

In 1972 the music world experienced a major transition. Jazz was becoming more and more synonymous with commercially popular R&B. There was an emphasis on black artists like Herbie Han-

cock to move from the Miles Davis-type renditions to a more popular form of musical entertainment, oriented for a younger, integrated audience. Political content and cultural anecdotes in black jazz were no longer considered chic. Thus Herbie Hancock used his considerable tal-

ents to write the title score for Charles Bronson's thriller *Death Wish*, an anti-black, quasi-fascist law and order film.

Earth, Wind and Fire eventually followed the lead of Hancock and others. Although its roots in jazz remain evident, EWF emphasizes a hard rock'n'roll delivery. It began to appeal consciously to white suburban audiences at some concerts. Most importantly, its political content during this age of rampant individualism and esoteric aesthetics became "sweetness and light."

In its last four albums, each of which has sold two million copies or more, the message is a healthy serving of existential nothingness, topped with a musical cherry. Recording for Columbia, EWF purports a basic theme of quasi-Buddhism, extreme individualism and a sort

of "keep your head to the sky" pseudo-philosophy with which whites can readily relate. True, Phil Bailey's falsetto solos are reminiscent of Smokey Robinson at times. But nothing of the simple delivery in Robinson's "Tracks of My Tears" is apparent in the ornamental, embellished sound that EWF so often generates.

If there is a left tendency within the disco generation, it is found within the Parliament/Funkadelics. George Clinton and company's latest effort, *Funkentel-echy vs. the Placebo Syndrome*, on Casablanca records is P-Funk at its vintage best. For all of its emphasis on dancing and body language, disco has been from the start sexually repressive and otherworldly. P-Funk turns the energy of disco inside out to generate a deliberately excessive, unrestrained beat. On the album's finest cut, "Flash Light," the disco score becomes a passion play that reminds me of Jimi Hendrix. Still, like EWF, there is little political relevance here; funk is collective individualism or maybe gritty sensuality, but it remains a singularly alienated form of musical creativity.

In the end, black music and black culture have become more and more imitative of the dominant, capitalist culture. For every Al Green, singing within the genres of the black church and the Memphis blues tradition, there are a dozen other creative black artists who would rather imitate KC and the Sunshine Band. ■



# PERSPECTIVES

FOR A NEW AMERICA

## Political solution needed for labor pensions, health

Changing economic conditions, including conglomerates, but especially inflation, force us to go beyond the bounds of industry-wide collective bargaining. Increasingly the whole structure of privately negotiated social benefits, is no longer capable of meeting the needs of the membership. Retirement plans are being eroded by inflation and medical costs are increasing. Since most benefit plans are organized on the basis of seniority, the high level of unemployment in manufacturing industry means that many workers with low seniority do not participate fully in the benefit programs.

The erosion of private benefit plans is significant because such benefit plans form one basis of business unionism. But with the erosion of the private plans, American unionists are being pushed into the political arena to settle problems previously settled privately. Such a development implied many changes for the structure of American trade unionism.

Let me discuss a few of the problem areas that illustrate our situation in the electrical and machine industry.

**Automation:** The introduction of new tape controlled machines—called numerical controlled machines—means that the trade machinist as we know it today is being downgraded and destroyed. Whatever little humanity emanating from our skill (and thus control over the job) is being taken away.

The interesting part of the work—the setting up of the machine—is removed from the province of the machinist and through design of the machine tool and the employing of a computer the machinist's skill is put on a piece of tape, which runs the machine and makes it produce the job. The most skilled are not the only ones affected; the trade is structured so that there are many thousands of work-



ers who set up and operate their own equipment.

What are some of the implications of the way in which automation is being introduced?

Older workers with seniority can usually hang on to their present jobs long enough to retire or get placed in some other job. But few or no new jobs are being created in spite of expanding production. Automation means that skills are being downgraded instead of providing the opportunity to move up to more interesting jobs. We now have the prospect of either unemployment or a dead-end job. The freezing of the job market, in spite of expanding production and population, has other pernicious effects. Only recently have women entered the machine trades in significant numbers as skilled workers. Likewise, in many plants blacks have been allowed to move up into skilled jobs only in the last few years. Both are again being squeezed out of the industry. And, of course, there are now tremendous numbers of young people who can't even get into the industry.

There are alternatives to the way in which automation is being introduced that unions can explore. We have to establish the position that the fruits of technologi-

cal change must be divided up, with some going to the worker and not all to management, as is the case today. We must demand that machinists rise with the complexity of the machine. Rather than dividing up his job, the machinist should be trained to program and repair his new machine. This is a task well within the grasp of most people in the industry. Demands such as this strike at another prime ingredient of business unionism—the idea of “let the management run the business.” The introduction of automatic equipment makes it imperative that we fight such ideas.

Automation also brings unemployment into focus. Unemployment and increases in productivity bear a direct relationship to each other, given a stagnant or artificial market.

Previously, in most large industrial towns, especially those that have a factory belonging to some huge corporation, there has been continuity of employment. People in Lynn have worked at GE for years. So have their families—grandfathers, uncles, etc. For people my age, this is less and less the case. Job reduction due to increases in productivity, runaway shops, or speed-up, have meant that a large number of people in their mid-thirties, who ordinarily would have 15 years service, don't have it. Since most benefits are based on seniority, it means that the union, as far as the perception of many people is concerned, functions on two levels. Everybody gets to use the grievance procedure, but not everybody is going to get the long-term benefits because they will not have enough time in the plant. (This assumes that people laid off from one place are able to get a job in an organized shop, which is not always the case.) With the closing of the huge steel mills and smaller machine tool manufacturers we are also witnessing the wholesale destruction of the equity people have accrued over the years in benefits.

Because benefits are tied to seniority the potential for increasing the tension between long seniority employees and short seniority employees increases as the plants fall victim to wild fluctuations in employment. A new way to deal with benefits, such as vacations, must be found. We must make the benefits, which are a social obligation, into a political question. Taking such an approach leads to a political settlement—such as four weeks vacation for all those who are employed one year or more. This is the way things are done in France, for example. In France, anybody who works one year gets four weeks off. If I stay at GE 20 years I may get it, too. But the chances are slim.

On the most basic level, unions function to protect the wages and working conditions of employees. Recently this has become ever more difficult. What we have won in wage increases in the shop we have lost through inflation. The management of the economy is a political question. For example, is unemployment a way in which to control wages? Some companies and economists believe that the answer is “yes.”

On the issue of conditions of work we have taken a beating. We are asked to trade a slow death from cancer for jobs. Instead of using technology to slow down the pace of work, the work pace has increased along with its attendant strains.

Instead of moving towards a 30 and out arrangement, the new legislation allowing people to work until age 70 means, for blue collar workers, that they will work more years—work until they drop dead. They will stay in the plant longer because older workers can't afford to retire due to inflation.

Thus we have problems on several levels. Most narrowly our industry is not organized as well as it was 30 years ago, and we have not moved into the newer fields of electronics, computers, etc. Our unions are divided. We need unity based on democratic principles. The UE and IUE must come together on some principled common ground as a beginning step towards unity in our industry.

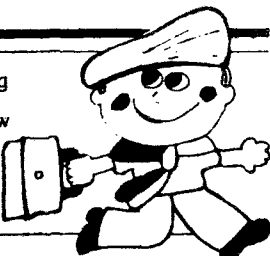
Within the unions we must re-organize to take on the companies. We have to make locals and internationals respond to the needs of all workers—not just some. Part of this re-organization is the need to challenge business union concepts and practices. This means the re-organization of rank and file groups that will deal positively with our problems. (It was through rank and file organization that the CIO first got started). Going a step further, we have to have the re-organization of class politics in the shop. Unions have never moved forward in this country without the uniting of left forces (socialists, communists) and those who have a strong sense of trade unionism.

Beyond the plant new forms of political organization are called for. The marriage of the unions and the Democratic party commenced in the '30s and cemented during the Cold War is not in labor's interest. If we are to make the gains we need to break even—never mind get ahead—we must begin to organize around specific issues and then force those issues upon our elected officials—as a first step towards independent labor candidates. ■ *Frank Emspak is an historian and a machinist at the General Electric plant in Lynn, Mass.*

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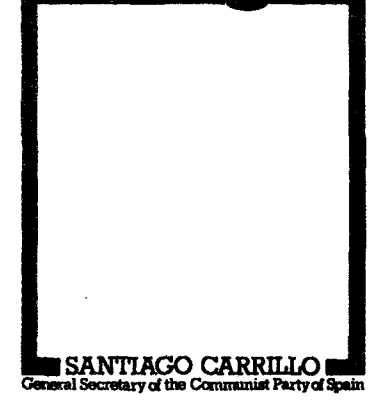
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# Carter/Cities

Continued from page 3.

tional Peoples Action, a neighborhood direct action organization, is concerned that the money may continue to be diverted to "gentrification" projects, where old neighborhoods are rebuilt for professionals and the affluent middle class.

Although new housing programs in the past have often benefited the suburbs rather than the cities, the President's study committee argued that some new housing construction for poor people was necessary to prevent their simply being pushed into existing, stable working class neighborhoods due to the absence of housing.

What do all the piecemeal programs add up to? "Carter lacked any vision of how cities are changing for the worse and how cities could change for the better," John Mollenkopf, director of Stanford's urban studies program, said. "Private sector investment may not help the poor. Carter's plan doesn't represent any political vision of how people can solve their own problems."

## Community action.

There is a slight nod in the direction of community action. Carter proposed \$15 million for assistance to neighborhood rehabilitation efforts, \$40 million for a new Urban Volunteer Corps under ACTION, and some additional funds for community credit unions, community development corporations, community health centers, parks and the arts.

Already this approach is embroiled in controversy. Big city mayors, remembering the way Great Society funding of neighborhood groups short-circuited their political control of the poor, are vigorously attacking the proposal, even though any funding of a neighborhood project must be approved by them. Poor and working class neighborhood activists, on the opposite side, envision the program expanding and incorporating projects now under other agencies.

Although there is general agreement among critics somewhere "on the left" that the Carter plan is inadequate, there is little agreement on what should be done. Traditional urban liberal groups emphasize the need for more money. However, a new breed of urban activist often criticizes the plan more for its failure to understand or to encourage working class city dwellers' need to gain more control over the resources of the neighborhoods in order to trigger a process of self-sustaining growth that is not siphoned off

by downtown banks and big corporations.

Lee Webb of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, who also advocates more money for housing, mass transit and soft public works, said that he would build an urban program around the consumer cooperative bank bill that the House approved and the Senate is now considering in committee rather than Carter's bank, which he thinks has little chance of passing. That would emphasize neighborhood cooperative action rather than big business salvation.

Stan Hallett of Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs is less concerned about the levels of funding than about possible redirection of money already allocated. For example, he argues, switching Chicago's storm water storage plan from a multibillion project of drilling deep tunnels and reservoirs under the city to creation of neighborhood water retention projects could accomplish the task better and yield \$100 million for the average neighborhood to use in redevelopment. Likewise a comprehensive urban plan would emphasize energy conservation in housing, since in many buildings energy costs have doubled in the past seven years. That could provide local jobs, lower rents, make it possible for landlords to spend more on maintenance (or pay now delinquent taxes) and conserve energy. Carrying such renovation further, Hallett argues that aiding renters to purchase buildings through land trusts would also strengthen neighborhood economies.

Spending more money alone does not necessarily "develop the organization, technology and social capacity for neighborhoods to develop themselves," Hallett says. "My idea is that if you give people half a chance they'll build decent cities. But how do you give people the tools, the capacities to build cities? Carter's plan is about as good as we could expect at this point. The thinking about cities and how to revitalize them is just not very far along."

But the urgency remains, and the Carter program does not take full advantage of even what is understood. As Horace W. Morris, executive director of the New York Urban League says, "We're considerably disappointed. We could use twice the national amount for housing here in New York for ourselves. The approach to our urban problems cannot be piecemeal. It has to be concentrated, committed. We were looking for a war and we got a skirmish."

# Zen Hustling

Continued from page 24.

settings illustrated with erotic photography. And that's going to—a lot of people—you can't say the Bible is obscene, they're gonna say the text is okay, but not pictorially? That just goes against the chronology of symbolic communication. Pictures came before words so I see it as a good way to test people's hypocrisy. That's the main thing Flynt and I share in common—a resistance to hypocrisy. What's the editorial content going to be like?

There's going to be more investigative journalism. More articles of social concern. However people's lives are fucked up, whether it's their wallets or their minds. Whatever the authorities do to individuals is a valid concern.

But is Hustler going to be as graphic as it has in the past?

I don't know, maybe even more graphic. After pink, rainbow. There's no blueprint. We're playing it by ear.

You're going to be starting up *The Realist* again. Why? (Krassner had to stop publishing *The Realist* in 1974 because of financial difficulties.)

It's a different stance. I asked Flynt what he thought was the difference between *The Realist* audience and the *Hustler* audience and he understood perfectly. He said, "*The Realist* reaches people of a higher consciousness and a lot of people in the media and people who are in some kind of influential situation." So it's not so much a class difference as a consciousness difference. Some things I can take for granted in *The Realist*, such as certain attitudes on abortion or homosexuality. Things that might have appeared in *The Realist* ten, 15 years ago might go into *Hustler* now.

When will you start publishing *The Realist*?

It will be out in May, as a monthly. We'll start with the 20th anniversary issue. Flynt is publishing and distributing it. I'm editing and I'll have total editorial control. It'll be printed on a bit better paper with a color cover and better distribution. Who knows? Maybe *The Realist* will be in supermarkets.

How do you like living in L.A.?

Well, I've adapted to it. The way Patti Hearst adapted to her kidnapping.

Has it been hard to hang on to your identity?

My identity is always evolving. This is educational for me. I'm learning. It's like another planet, the corporate structure. I was living like a hermit and now I've

gone from one extreme to the other. As I crawl out of my cave I suddenly crawled into an executive position. So I'm kind of studying it anthropologically. But underneath it my identity is still the same. I mean I'm not taking any money for *The Realist* to help me remain pure. As long as it remains fun, my identity will still be constant. If I start making terrible compromises because I don't want to lose my job, then that would be a difference in my identity.

You haven't made any compromises so far?

Well no, I can't see any. The April cover has an Easter bunny nailed to a crucifix and people in the office were afraid that Larry wouldn't like that. And I said, "Well, he's going to have to fire me or defend me." It turned out he loved it. The point is, I took him at his word when he said I was to be given editorial control. You're going to be making \$90,000 a year, right?

Yeah, but I'm \$50,000 in debt, so a lot will go to that. But I'll tell you, it's been like a Roman Polanski film with ants crawling out of the wall, people who want something. But that's part of the game.

Have you indulged yourself in any way materially?

I don't know that I have. I mean, I came to work carrying a paper bag one day and showed it to the receptionist and said, "This is my attache case." I'll probably, in a month or two, buy a vibrating bed or something.

Did you go through any crisis of conscience in deciding to work for Hustler?

No, not really. If there's stuff that I can't get into *Hustler*, I can get it into *The Realist*. But no, I had done all my soul-searching just in terms of writing for *Hustler* before I became publisher. I had gotten an assignment from Flynt to do a Lenny Bruce piece. I had already decided that it would be good to reach that audience. I had always wanted to do something for them 'cause I didn't like people putting down what they thought the *Hustler* audience was. I had no real crisis of conscience.

Have you ever turned down any writing assignment?

Life magazine once asked me to do a column. For a thousand a column, a humor column. But the limitation on that was bad taste. So we didn't get very far with that.

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## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## HISTORY

## Rebels all: the Finns in America

## FOR THE COMMON GOOD:

Finnish Immigrants and the Radical Response to Industrial America

Michael G. Karni and Douglas J. Ollila, Jr., editors  
The Tyomies Society, 601 Tower Ave., Superior, Wisc. 54880

Perhaps it is their anxiety to counter the charge that socialism is an alien philosophy that has led American socialists and historians of socialism always to undervalue and frequently to ignore the role played by non-English speaking immigrants in American radical movements. Michael M. Passi observes in *Finnish Immigrants and the Radical Response to Industrial America*, that "despite the fact that a large percentage of membership in the Socialist party of America was enrolled in the party through its various foreign language federations, no historian of the party has given more than passing attention to these immigrant socialists." Yet, "it was primarily in and through the language federations that the Socialist party reached whatever constituency it had among industrial workers."

The Tyomies ("Worker") Society, itself active for 70 years in the publication of a Finnish-language radical newspaper, has published this book of essays as its "contribution to the American Bicentennial" and has thereby done much to fill this damaging inadequacy in our understanding of American radical movements.

The Finns, few in number in America and in the world, have been particularly influential in American radical politics, often to the embarrassment of both conservative American Finns and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Suomi Synod), which had close ties to the state Church of Finland. The fact remains that the Finnish Socialist Federation was the largest foreign language federation in the Socialist party and by 1912, with 13,000 members, made up almost 12 percent of the Socialist party membership. When it split with the SP in 1921, it brought more than 7,000 members into the Workers Party of America—then more than 40 percent of the total membership of what would be the Communist party of America. *The Daily Worker* was founded with a \$25,000 contribution from the Finnish Socialist Federation.

Finnish participation in American radicalism was by no means restricted to the SP and CP. The Finns, in whom can be seen "the radical response of peasants to modern industrial society," were major supporters of the IWW, and the Tyovaen Opisto (Work People's College, founded by a liberal wing of Finnish-American Lutheranism and very soon officially Marxist, becoming an official school of the IWW in 1920). The most energetic and influential of the teachers at the college, Leo Laukki, was arrested in 1917 along with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the Chicago 166.

Finnish radicalism was in part



The Finns, few in number in America, have had a profound effect on American radical politics. The Finnish Socialist Federation was the largest foreign language federation in the Socialist party, and when it split with the Socialist party in 1921 it brought more than 7,000 members into the Workers party, 40 percent of its membership. Above, Finnish socialists sing the Internationale.

imported and in part American-grown. Early Finnish radicals like A.F. Tanner, who preached Darwinism and socialism in the eastern U.S., were formally educated people who were in exile from Czarist-controlled Finland. One of the exiles, Matti Kurikka, former editor of a major socialist newspaper in Helsinki, founded a utopian colony on Malcolm Island in British Columbia, based on principles that included socialism, theosophy, and free love.

A few of these early socialists tried to merge Christianity with socialism, with little success. Characteristic was Wainio Paananen, who published a play in 1903 arguing that Jesus should be seen as an advocate of "freedom, fraternity, and equality." A year later Paananen organized a socialist group in Aberdeen, Wash. As A. William Høglund observes, "Because of the defection of religious liberals like Paananen from its ranks to the class-conscious socialists, the social gospel never blossomed into any major movement for Christian socialism."

But neither liberal interpretations of Finnish Christianity nor Helsinki-educated socialist agitators were necessary to make Finns into socialists. The hard conditions in the mines of Minnesota and northern Michigan did that. Michael Karni cites this testimony from one of the Finns who came to work in the Mesabi range:

"I was small when I came along with thousands to the land of the free at the turn of the century, my mother holding me up to see the statue of liberty! We rode the train with others going to the North Country, and I looked out the window and saw

what I would never forget—the red Mesabi! Everything was red—the roads, the water in the ditch, the miners' clothes, the big open pit, the sidewalks, the skin of the people. The red ore seemed to penetrate, to drive into everything. I came to know it stood for U.S. Steel that claimed our lives, our thoughts and our allegiance.

"Father worked in the red mine, my mother would cry when she tried to wash off the red dirt from my father's clothes and body. The neighbors around us spoke a strange language. My mother would wash the clothes and cry for Finland."

The Finns lived in tar-paper shacks, log huts or shabby company housing and went to ill-paid dangerous jobs.

"My first days were a foretaste of hell. After making several trips from the tiggings to the shaft pushing a heavy tramcar, I was wretchedly tired. My thirst was unquenchable; sweat flowed in rivulets from my pores. My legs threatened to give way, and my body became limp... My partner saw that I was exhausted. But instead of slowing his pace, he speeded it; apparently he wanted to show me what America was really like.... When lunch time came...my food did not go down; my eyes saw dizzily; my ears rang; my heart pounded violently. After the shift was over, my partner showed me his gnarled rust-eaten hands. 'When your paws are like these, you'll be able to stand the grind.'"

Advancement was possible only for the American-born. Strikes were suppressed by violence that included the outright murder of numbers of strikers. The Finns faced ethnic prejudice of the crudest sort. In one notorious

case an attempt was made to keep Finns from receiving citizenship papers because District Attorney John C. Sweet of St. Paul argued that "a Finn...is a Mongolian and not a 'white person.'" In the 1920s, only 36 percent of white protestants were willing to live next door to a Finn, only 16 percent "would allow a Finn to marry a close relative."

The Finns certainly suffered for their radicalism. Union activity of any sort risked mutilation or death. Strikers were black-listed by the mine owners, and company representatives warned the U.S. Immigration Commission against Finns:

"All the races employed on the Vermillion Range are good laborers except [the Finns]. Their people are good laborers but trouble breeders. We refuse work to every one who applies wearing the red button of the socialist organizations...and it is my desire to weed out this element and see the movement suppressed. ...The Finns are good workers when they want to work, but are not to be depended on.... The younger set, and especially those who have received a little education, are troublesome and agitators of the worst type."

"Church-Finns" and those who were rapidly assimilated into American commerce and industry had to spend their lives denying Finnish radicalism, or at least, as I can confirm from my own upbringing in a Finnish immigrant community, refusing to talk about it.

Finnish support for women's rights was early and consistent. Hilja J. Karvonen attributes this support to the Finns' having been beneficiaries of the same Scandinavian ferment that produced the

plays of Ibsen. She offers an important study of Selma Jokela McCone, Maija Nurmi, and Helmi Mattson, all active on the *To-veritar* ("Woman Comrade") magazine. Support from male socialists was enlightened, far ahead of the times, and the men questioned only whether women's rights should be approached separately or as part of a total socialist vision of the new America.

I want to praise the authors of the individual articles, Passi (University of Washington), Høglund (University of Connecticut), Karni (University of Minnesota), Ollila (Augsburg College), Puotinen (Suomi College), Hummasti (Texas Tech), Karvonen (Mankato State), and Kestinen (University of Turku) for their painstaking and accurate research, particularly in Finnish-language newspapers which are hard to locate and, for most second- or third-generation Finns, hard to read.

They have written a book that no historian of American radical movements will be able to ignore.

One must end with praise for these Finnish radicals, who—in a new country, cut off by their language—resisted the mine owners, the local "American" businessmen, the American Legion, and the occasional opportunities for easy integration into American life in order to voice their demand for a better America for all. *Kun-iaa kaatuneille sankareille* (a Finnish equivalent of "give flowers to the rebels failed"—literally, "honor to the fallen heroes.')

—Victor N. Paananen

*The Tyomies Society is at 601 Tower Ave. Superior, WI 54880. Victor N. Paananen is Associate Professor of English and Assistant Dean of the Graduate School at Michigan State University.*



## SPORTS

# Speed and finesse vs. size and power

By Rich Klimmer

**T**WO TRENDS HAVE CHARACTERIZED this college basketball season. One offers the promise of the college game becoming a work of art, the other raises the threat that the game could degenerate into a ritual of force similar to the decline of professional hockey as a sport.

The NCAA championship game captured both trends and rendered a split decision in favor of art. It also exposed the nature of the problems facing college hoops. A series of vignettes from the season hopefully will focus the issue.

It began in a hotel room in Chicago. In the middle of a blizzard a bunch of aging CYO veterans were drinking beer and getting ready to watch the first UCLA-Notre Dame game. Our approach to the game had never been pretty, but we knew that was a flaw. We pushed so much under the boards that we occasionally forgot to jump.

Watching this game, which matched a tall, graceful team from UCLA against a ponderous Notre Dame team, we expected a standard contest of the type that was becoming all too typical of recent seasons in which the stronger team would simply beat up the more elegant team. Instead, something new happened.

About eight minutes into the second half, Notre Dame went into its motion offense, which features three big men in constant movement setting picks and screens for each other. An excitement filled the room. Markie, whose playing standard was a D-Day type assault on the backboards, shouted in wonder, "Look at them move."

As the second half unfolded, Notre Dame took every Bruin challenge and turned it back with strength in movement. When the game ended with a convincing Irish victory, Johnnie, who de-

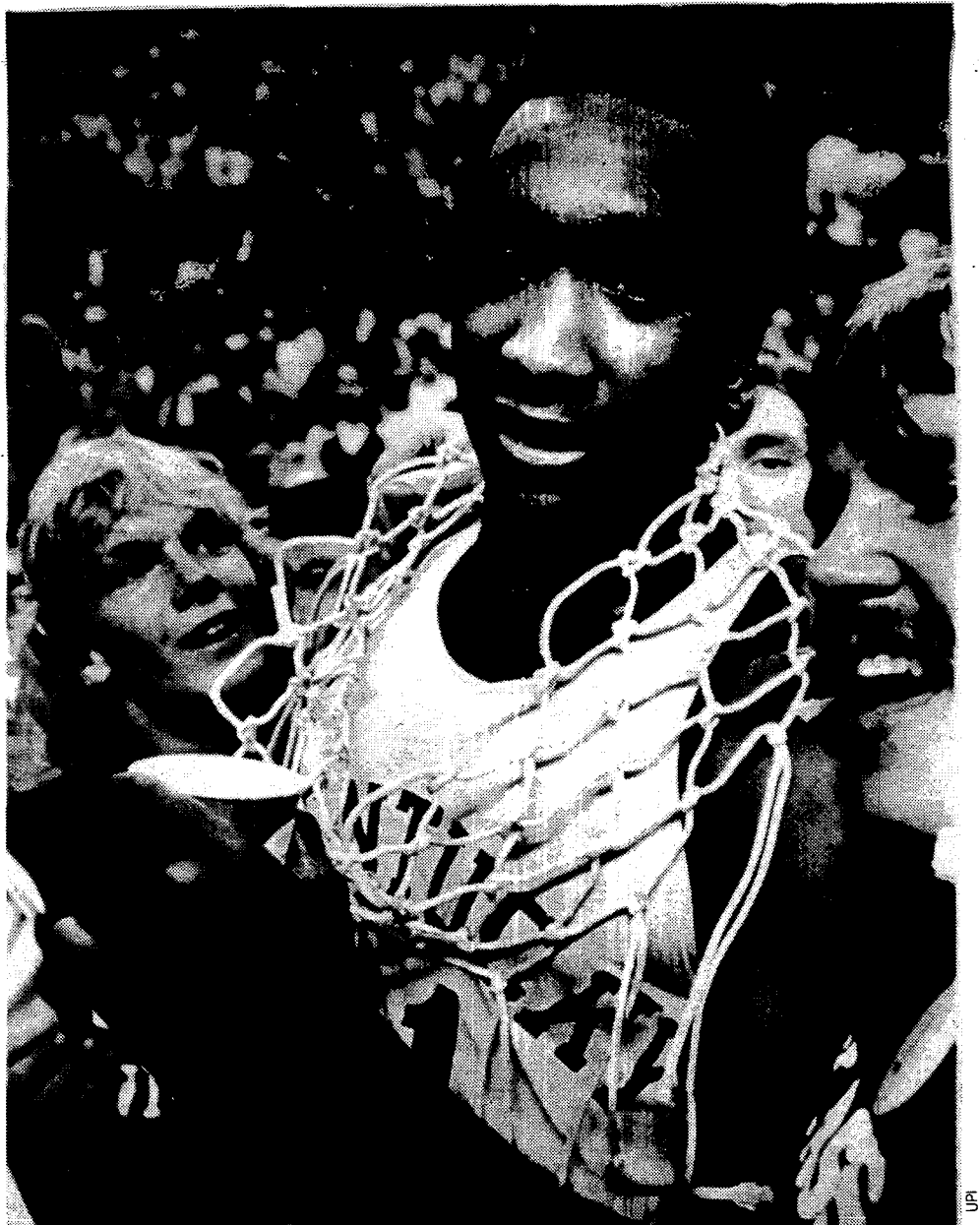
stroyed pattern offenses by running through picks so hard that you never wanted to set another one, captured what had happened: "When the elephants dance, the mice get trampled." We settled our bets and everyone felt that something new was emerging in the game. It felt good.

But as the season progressed, one saw too many games that descended to the level of brawls. By the time of the regional finals it was hard to believe that things could get any worse, but they did. The second Notre Dame-DePaul game had to be the low point of the season. It also revealed the counter tendencies in the game. Early in the first half there was a moment of beauty. Joe Ponsetto, a 6'7", 235 pound forward for DePaul executed a trio of 180 degree reverses to score on a lay-up. The next time down the floor, Dave Corzine, De Paul's 6'11", 250 pound center, took a rebound and threw a floor-length pass to Ponsetto, who leapt between two defenders and double-pumped a second basket.

What was captured in that 30 seconds was the emergence of players of enormous size, who are capable of playing the game with speed, agility and grace. The rest of the game was a disgrace. Notre Dame, by its own admission, won by beating up Corzine. Bill Laimbeer, the Irish center, bragged, "We were just as aggressive as we could be with him, pushing and holding and everything."

By the final week of the tournament most fans expected a final that would feature the two huskiest teams—Kentucky and Notre Dame—in a street fight. All season Kentucky had been winning by mauling smaller teams with four big players being used in tandems.

The semi-final against Arkansas, a team of brilliant small players, degenerated into a free throw shooting contest, with a series of outrageous calls against the Hogs two big men who were literally fighting for survival under the basket. The only



Jack Givens, 6'5" Kentucky star, scored 41 points to lead his team to victory over the Duke Blue Devils in the NCAA finals.

note of sanity was that Duke beat Notre Dame on the basis of speed and careful shot selection.

Still there was a pall hanging over the championship game as most experts expected Kentucky to simply pound on Duke's quick forwards and to outnumber the Blue Devils' marvelous young center, Mike Gminski. The final didn't promise much in the way of genuine sport.

The final was a nice surprise. Kentucky started out to maul Duke, but three quick foul calls against both 6'11", 225 pound Mike Phillips and 6'6", 230 pound James Lee gave notice that this game would allow contact but not violence.

Duke went to its flex-zone defense and

Kentucky coach Joe Hall had to make one of the most difficult coaching decisions in his often troubled career. The decision he made was to end the fight and to start playing basketball. He spread out his offense against the zone and utilized the exceptional quickness of 6'11", Rick Robey and 6'5" Jack Givens.

It became a contest of speed and finesse and demonstrated the full possibilities of the sport since the size revolution of the late '60s. Let us hope that other coaches who watched the game will now abandon their imitations of Kentucky and Notre Dame's earlier muscle approach. If they do, all fans will get to see the elephants dance.

## Wit' a Brooklyn Accent

By Mark Naison

If this were Thanksgiving I would give Bowie Kuhn my "Turkey of the Year" award for his decision to cancel the planned exhibition series between Cuban and American All-Star teams.

The explanation offered—that the game was called off because the Castro government refused to let the best Cuban players be drafted by the U.S. majors—is even lamer than the one he used to veto Vida Blue's sale to the Reds (no pun intended).

In all the years of competition between the U.S. and Communist countries, no such condition has ever been discussed, much less imposed, by a commissioner of a major sport.

Can you imagine the National Hockey League All Stars refusing to play the Soviet National Team unless they release Vladislav Tretiak (considered by many hockey experts to be the best goalie in the world) to the New York Rangers? Or UCLA refusing to play the Russian basketball team unless it puts 7'6" Vladimir Tkachenko in the NBA hardship draft? Or the U.S. Boxing team refusing to fight the Cubans unless Teofilo Stevenson becomes property of ABC?

Either Kuhn is launching a personal crusade to restore the free market, or he is trying to avoid—in the clumsiest pos-

sible manner—the potential embarrassment of a Cuban victory.

The lengths he is taking to avoid competition with the Cubans reminds one of the actions past Commissioners took to keep out black players, and is typical of baseball's self-appointed role as guardian of conservative values. It's all right for the "Communists" to beat Americans in basketball, boxing and volleyball, but Kuhn acts as though a Cuban victory in baseball, the "national pastime," would be an insufferable blow to American prestige.

If the Commissioner knew a little baseball history, he would be neither surprised, nor concerned, that the Cubans have a decent chance of beating an American team. Baseball has been the most popular sport in Cuba since the 1880s and its winter leagues attracted the best North American players right up until the first years of the revolution.

During the years that American baseball was segregated, the Cuban leagues may have had an even higher caliber of ball than the U.S. majors because it was the only place where the top major leaguers, the top black players, and the top Latin American stars all played together. They were the scene of epic pitching duels between Rube Foster and Carl Hubbell, batting contests between Ty Cobb and John Henry Lloyd, and home-run hitting

feats by Josh Gibson, considered by many players to be the equal of Babe Ruth.

The caliber of Cuban players who honed their skills in this milieu was such that over 70 of them played in the major leagues from 1911 to the present. And these (until the '50s) were only the light skinned ones! Many more of their darker compatriots played in the U.S. Negro leagues, including all-time greats like Martin Dihigo and Luis Tiant Sr.

This tradition of baseball excellence has been maintained—and possibly improved upon—by the Castro government. The island championships still attract huge crowds (attendance is now free) and great ballplayers are national heroes.

Despite the 15-year absence of competition with North Americans, big league scouts are as anxious to recruit Cuban players as they were when the color line first fell, confident they will find another Luis Tiant, Tony Perez or Minnie Minoso among the current "crop" of players.

Maybe in the long run the return of some Cubans to American baseball would be a positive thing, as would the return of American players to the Cuban leagues. But to insist, as Kuhn does, that no contact at all take place until the American teams have *carte blanche* to skim the cream off Cuban talent bespeaks an arrogant—and totally unjustified—assumption that baseball is an American sport and the best the Cubans can hope for is to serve as a farm system for the "big leagues."

It's time that Commissioner Kuhn put away the Monroe Doctrine and allow fans in both countries to enjoy an exciting and historic series. Cuban baseball has been "major league" for 60 years, and it is entirely appropriate that the resumption of contact between the two countries in the sport take the form of

head-to-head competition between equals.

After that, who knows? Maybe we can have a "World Series" that is really international.

## Eurocommunism & The State

In These Times Chicago Associates will sponsor a lecture-discussion class based on **Eurocommunism and the State** by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain. The class will examine the policies and implications of Eurocommunism as they pertain to developed capitalist countries, especially the United States.

**Lectures** James Weinstein, Editor  
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**April 4** The Ideological and Coercive Apparatus of the State

**April 11** The Model of Democratic Socialism

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Admission:  
\$12 for 4 sessions - in advance  
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Information: Ed Starr, 489-4444



# ART & ENTERTAINMENT

## Records

**NIGHT FLIGHT**  
Yvonne Elliman  
(RSO)

Yvonne Elliman, who hit with the old Carole Thomas smash "Hello, Stranger" last year, has found her own voice on this, her third solo album. She's split from Eric Clapton, has a big hit in the Bee Gees' "If I Can't Have You" from the *Saturday Night Fever* sound track, and on *Night Flight* she proves she's got staying power.

Her own "Up to the Man in You," is a sensual rocker, mixing the feeling of Stevie Wonder and Little Feat with the *a cappella* voicings she's so fond of, helped by a great rhythm section (including Jim Keltner, Scott Edwards and Paulinho Da Costa) and backup the likes of Kiki Dee.

There's a lot of name-dropping on the album, with musicians from all walks of music helping out. But Elliman is strong on her own primarily as an interpreter. Her version of the old, magical Jaynettes' hit, "Sally Go Round the Roses," is longer, more overtly sexy and sadder than the original; and she turns Danny Kortchman's "In a Stranger's Arms" into the risky, passionate plea its lyrics imply.

Her voice has much scope, few gimmicks. It doesn't trill like Dolly Parton's, doesn't have the brassy, sassy snarl of Linda Ronstadt's. Elliman is a quintessential pop singer who pulls in many kinds of material, gives them her own stamp and delivers them with conviction.

The production by Robert Appere is razor-sharp; the musicianship is low-key and to the point; the material, ranging from good to excellent, is varied. The album sounds better with every listening.

Pop with power and drive; but there's no feeling of her dominating her material, *a la* Midler. She speaks out, sings clearly and lets her album stand on its own.

**Carlo Wolff** is the editor of the *Vermont Vanguard*.

### HAVE MOICY!

Michael Hurley  
The Holy Modal Rounders  
Jeffrey Fredricks and the Clamtones  
(Rounder Records)

### LONG JOURNEY

Michael Hurley  
(Rounder Records)

### SPIDERS IN THE MOONLIGHT

Jeffrey Fredricks and the Clamtones  
(Rounder Records)

*Have Moicy!* is an excellent introduction to a wild and wacky bunch of New England-based musicians and songwriters who have used a strong background in American traditional music as the basis for some highly original creations of their own. Michael Hurley and his pals live in Vermont, Peter Stampfel and the Unholy Modal Rounders are from New York City, and Jeffrey Fredricks and the Clamtones currently work out of Portland, Ore. Some of these guys have been playing and recording together



for ten years or more, and these joint sessions have the warm atmosphere of a reunion of old friends. The music is mainly acoustic, and features some fine fiddling by Stampfel, Hurley, and especially Robin Remaily of the Clamtones.

But the finest thing about *Have Moicy!* is the songs themselves: 121 great original tunes and one slightly re-written oldie, "Midnight in Paris," which opens up the album and sets the mood. Featuring the Unholies, "Midnight" begins sedately enough with a tinkling neopolitan mandolin obligato, then takes off like a raped ape with some rowdy verses:

*You wear my beret and I'll use  
your bidet, cheri,  
I'll be clean, you'll be free,  
Oh how happy we'll be, tou-  
jours l'amour...*

A strong current of humor flows through most of these songs, sometimes explicit in the lyrics, sometimes implied by the juxtaposition of subject and style that results in light-hearted parody. For example, you get a great fiddle tune cast as a piece of barnyard disco in "Country Bump" by Stampfel:

*Come and do the Country  
Bump, it's fun and fancy free,  
Funky as a monkey and as  
natural as a tree,  
Kinda like the clog, kinda like  
the bop,  
When you do the Country Bump  
you never wanna stop,  
Do it in the bar, do it in the road,  
Do it any time you wanna drop  
your heavy load...*

Peter Stampfel cut his first record some 13 years ago with Steve Weber as the Holy Modal Rounders, a classic collection of old-timey fiddling tunes still in print today. A truly unique singer, Stampfel performs with manic exuberance, whether he is beseeching a country girl to go walking in the woods at night ("Grizelda") or describing the wonders of a marathon bacchanal ("Hoodoo Bash").

Michael Hurley is a backwoods surrealist, a hard-drinking, romantic, a gruff and unpolished performer and a great songwriter. His creations often start with a lurch, proceed through a bewildering variety of rhythms and antic musical structures, to come unraveled at the end like an old sweater. But like an old sweater, once you get used to it, nothing

is more comfortable. *Have Moicy!* has only four Hurley songs and doesn't begin to cover all his moods and styles, but does include "The Slurf Song," a wonderful bit of whimsy featuring all three fiddlers and a highly gastronomic view of life:

*We fill up our guts and we turn  
it into shit,  
then we get rid of it...*

Hurley saved his best for a solo album, later released as *Long Journey*, a great collection from one of America's finest (and most reclusive) songwriters.

Jeff Fredricks hails from Vermont, where he hung out with Hurley, and the off-the-wall imagery of his songs owes much to the influence of his older friend. Titles like "The Red Newt" and "What Made My Hamburger Disappear" testify to his fondness for off-beat subject matter. Fredricks has a fine, resonant voice reminiscent of Johnny Cash, and, like Cash, uses a hint of country-boy innocence in his delivery to accentuate the good-humored parody of his lyrics.

In "Weep, Weep, Weep," a slow, almost rhythm-and-bluesy number, the words are delivered with the utmost seriousness.

*I pasted your picture on the bot-  
toms of my glass,  
I stood there and drank till I fell  
on my ass,  
Weep weep weep, sob sob and  
beat the dog...*

At other times Fredricks clowns on the vocals, singing falsetto, kazoo-style "trumpet solos," or delivering tongue-in-cheek monologues.

Fredricks and the Clams have subsequently released an album entitled *Spiders in the Moonlight* featuring a full-tilt electric sound (dubbed "folk-drunk boogie" by a Portland writer) and such titles as "I Played My Guitar on the Toilet Too Long," "Singing to the Dentist," and a crucifixion song called "All Your Sins Are Forgiven, Now Let Me Down!"

*Long Journey* and *Spiders* are records all country fiddling fans will enjoy. But *Have Moicy!* stands as a remarkable achievement of mellow collaboration in a field where egomania and recording contracts generally preclude such a relaxed and free-wheeling meeting of first-rate talents. —Joseph Stevenson  
*Joseph Stevenson is a member of a country fiddling group called The Famous Potatoes.*

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Left to right: Beatrice Arthur as Maude; Bob Newhart as himself; Sally Struthers as Gloria; Robert Reiner as Michael. Right below: Norman Lear.

## TELEVISION

# Look who's turning up missing

By now you've probably heard the news: producer Norman Lear "the conscience of television," is quitting TV for the silver screen. He's entitled. But look what's happening at the same time.

Two of the four *All in the Family* stars are leaving the nest. *Sanford and Son* have left the air, *Maude* is on her way out and *The Jeffersons* are barely hanging in there. *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* has lost its leading lady, been retitled and (at least in L.A.) shuffled off to the purgatorial hour of midnight. *Good Times* aren't so good any more.

And these are just Norman Lear shows. Others of the more adult sitcoms—like *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *Bob Newhart*—have already left or are on their way out.

While draft cards and bras were burning in the '60s, the height of TV comedy was *The Lucy Show* and *The Beverly Hills*

*billies*. Then came the '70s and, better late than never, TV discovered the "social problem." Relevance was in, and some of the shows that dealt most effectively with controversial issues were sitcoms.

But no more. Widening the wasteland today are the likes of *Love Boat*, *Happy Days* and *Three's Company*, to name three of the season's biggest hits. Lear *et al.* are leaving us just when we need them most, and the social sitcom is lost in a deluge of dumb jokes and dippy characters.

Relevance is out and inanity is in.

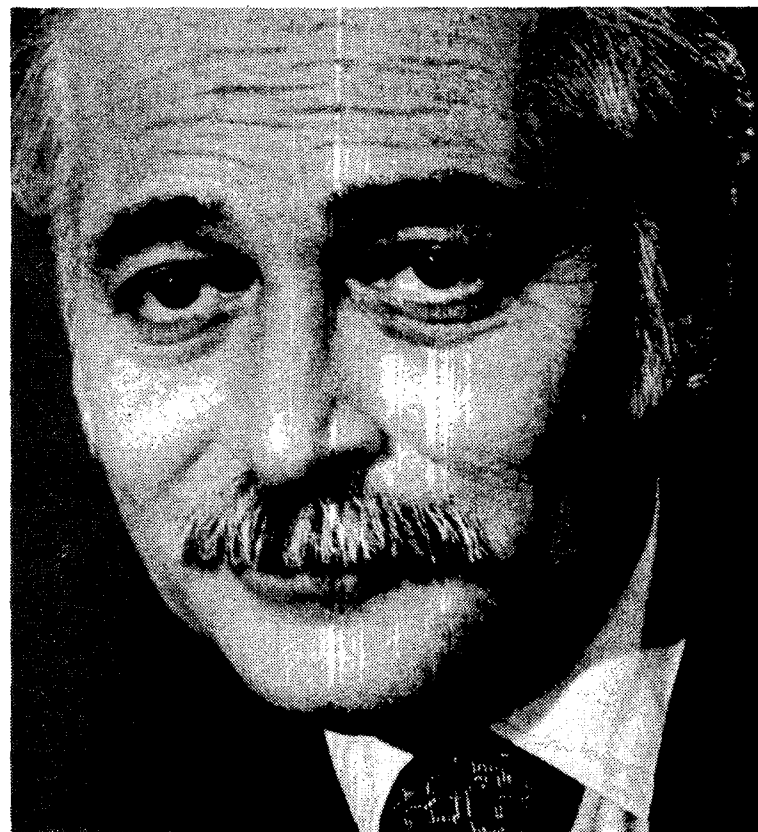
Perhaps TV has finally caught up with and matched its times after all. Tom Wolfe has called this "the Me Decade." Reflected on TV, the emphasis on self becomes an emphasis on easy entertainment without the slightest edge to provoke thought. Easy-viewing to match the easy-listening of

our most popular records.

That's this season. Wait till you see what's coming up next.

The networks have been under strong public pressure to put one of their staples in the deep freeze. Violence is out. But no problem. Executives who follow the Nielson ratings like Moses obeying the burning bush have looked at the success of *Three's Company*, *Soap* and especially *Charlie's Angels* (which could be classified as a comedy). If one show is a hit, can more of the same be anything less?

So sex is in—the type of show privately referred to in Hollywood as "tits and ass" programs. (Or, by those more careful of their language, as the "jiggles school.") Next season you can expect a host of series with titles like *The Cheerleaders* and *Roller Girls*. Buxom, no-talent starlets haven't had such opportunities since *Love That Bob*.



Maybe that's why Lear is leaving TV.

The makers of adult sitcoms fought hard to deal frankly with sexual matters, from *Maude's* abortion to Edith Bunker's lesbian cousin, only to be bested in the ratings game by snickering

bedroom jokes and sexy young women. It was a good fight, but when they brought sex on TV into the 20th century, "tits and ass" wasn't what they had in mind.

—**Pamela Feinsilber**  
*Pamela Feinsilber is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles.*

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**I AM PLANNING** to write some political reminiscences about The Shelter Half Coffee House. I hope that some of the GIs who passed through there in 1969-1971 will get in touch. Trust me, I won't treat you like Loose Change. Write to Barbara Garson at In These Times.

**OUR EYES MET** outside the Film Forum (the Chile film). I was wearing yellow boots and an orange poncho. You were selling IN THESE TIMES. It was just a glance and a smile (I was with someone else.) But if it meant something to you too, write to Stephanie, Box 6, In These Times.

**VICKIE DEAR,** thanks for the subscription. Daddy and I have been reading your newspaper and are quite impressed by its seriousness. Daddy thinks it might be nice for you to bring your good friend Jenny home with you this summer. We can change too—but slowly. Please don't be afraid to get in touch.—Mother.

**O.K. ROBIN,** you're right. The Democratic party is a cop out and a trap. But our relationship isn't. Please come back—Noel.



## MOVIES

# A fine new film about love and loneliness

## AN UNMARRIED WOMAN

Written and directed by Paul Mazursky

With Jill Clayburgh and Alan Bates

Distributed by 20th Century-Fox

*An Unmarried Woman* is a warm and well-wrought film about sex and its relation to love, and love and its place in the life of an independent woman. Its tone is sympathetic, genuine and decent and lends the film a special humor as it tells its story of contemporary manners and anxiety.

Paul Mazursky, who wrote, directed and co-produced, shows an uncanny sensitivity both to the relentlessness of the city and to the surprising ways it lures and changes people. He understands that urban ideals about anything (but particularly love and romance) must be tempered with a realism about human relations. He knows that modern cliff-dwellers have feet of clay, heads in the clouds and insatiable genitals. They value love and friendship but find their lives desperately dry without sex. And although they worship culture and art, they cannot walk the streets without stepping in dog-shit.

Because he knows urban psy-

chology so well Mazursky's characters always seem like people we have met. When they are bitter, they are also lonely. When they seem domineering and aggressive, they are still capable of sexual tenderness. Even the most gentle among them get into fights. The city scars them, but it feeds them too. It is the best place for them to stage the drama of their lives.

Within this context, Mazursky give us Erica (Jill Clayburgh), who is in the process of becoming unmarried and must redefine her place in love with new lovers. Out of her initial depression she seeks to find a new balance between her urge for independence and her need for intimate experience.

A chance encounter with an abstract expressionist painter (Alan Bates) is the acid test of Erica's evolving sense of self-esteem and confidence. The man is utterly fluid and natural, bemused by life, intelligent and loving. The two have a passionate affair. But their love is not larger than life, and Erica begins to sense that there is much in common between her failed marriage and his developing romance.

When the artist proposes that she leave New York to share a summer with him in a Vermont



Above: Erica (Jill Clayburgh) with her daughter Patti (Lisa Lucas)  
Below: Alan Bates as Saul, the painter, with Erica.

retreat, Erica turns him down. She has come to like the challenge of her unmarried life and to realize that while Vermont and abstract expressionism are alluring, the city—for all its litter and traffic—is a better proving ground for her newly found strength and a better arena in which to explore the reaches of her curiosity.

In the film's final image, she carries a huge, colorful painting home along the crowded sidewalks of New York. Like a billowing sail, it flutters in the wind and blows her around, but she manages. Because she has come to know herself better, she is rudderless no more.

Adroitly made, with rich, multi-dimensional characters and an honest theme, *An Unmarried Woman* is well worth seeing.

—Donald Venes

Donald Venes is a free-lance writer in Chicago.

## Bergman's achievement: hermetically sealed despair

### SERPENT'S EGG

Written and directed by Ingmar Bergman

With Liv Ullman, David Carradine, James Whitmore, Heinz Froebe, Glynn Turman

Paramount release, Rated R

Ingmar Bergman's new English-language film is the most bleak he has ever done. It goes far beyond the claustrophobic cynicism of *The Hour of the Wolf* or *The Passion of Anna* to achieve a hermetically sealed despair—a despair so thorough and so continuous that it finally attains the status of a moral posi-

tion. Any kind of hope, in this view, is a form of corruption.

The only mitigating circumstance in the surrounding gloom is that no one can make films of Bergman's visual and intellectual power without an almost mystic faith in the intelligence of people and their ability to receive and decode the message.

There is a scene with a priest that echoes a similar scene in *Cries and Whispers*. Manuela (Liv Ullman), an out-of-work circus performer and part-time prostitute, goes to a priest (played by James Whitmore with his peculiar combination of the fustian and the sensitive) and asks him to

pray for her, to help her calm her inner fears.

"We live far away from God," Whitmore tells her, "so far away that he probably doesn't hear when we pray for help. So we must help each other, give each other the forgiveness a remote God denies us."

That is as cheerful as *The Serpent's Egg* ever gets. It is all downhill from there.

The people in *The Serpent's Egg* have befuddled and corrupt faces like George Grosz paintings. David Carradine's, in particular, seems in a state of decay.

Carradine plays Abel Rosenberg who, with his brother Max

and his sister-in-law Manuela, once formed a circus trapeze act. Max injured his arm, the act can no longer perform, and the circus has gone on, leaving the three stranded in Berlin.

Very early in the film, Max commits suicide by shooting himself in the mouth, leaving an incoherent note that advises Abel and Manuela that "they are poisoning people." Several other people die mysteriously, all of them known to Abel. The police question him. They wonder if he is a Jew.

These events take place in 1923 in the atmosphere of political and economic turmoil that character-

ized the ineffectual Weimar Republic. Inflation is rampant. Cigarettes cost four million marks. People struggle to go on although they are driven almost crazy by their burdens.

Manuela somehow retains her optimism, even though she must work at night in a murky cabaret and by day in a brothel. (The cabaret, as you might imagine, dispenses entertainment in the Kurt Weill mode.)

Bergman's cinematographer and long-time associate Sven Nykvist, has lighted and photographed the film to accentuate its physical reality. People are diminished by their surroundings (hallways, streetcars, public buildings). The stark actuality of things creates a gruesome counterpoint to the perishability of flesh.

Near the end of the film, the brilliant but morally deformed Dr. Vergerus (Heinz Bennent) reveals to Abel the cause of the mysterious deaths: he has been conducting experiments to test the limits of human endurance, as though life weren't doing that every day.

As Vergerus shows films of his experiments, the police are pounding at his laboratory door. He evades justice, however, by swallowing a cyanide capsule and dies watching himself in a mirror.

Needless to say, there is not a happy ending. Abel merely blends into the lumpen proletariat, and from our historical vantage point we know the worst is yet to come.

—Barry Brennan is a film critic in Los Angeles.



The stark actuality of a Berlin street in 1923 contrasts with the perishability of the people who walk along it.



# Paul Krassner on the Very Zen Art of Hustling a Porn King



Michael Goldberg

(and vice versa)

By Leslie and Michael Goldberg

A suave secretarial voice answered, "Larry Flynt Publications."

Is Paul Krassner there?

"One moment please." Pause.

Another equally honeyed voice purred, "Mr. Krassner's office."

So it was true! Paul Krassner, self-described "court jester to the revolution," founder of the Yippies, creator/editor of that outrageous, sacrilegious, taboo-exploding magazine, *The Realist*, friend to Lenny Bruce, Abbie Hoffman, Ken Kesey and a slew of counter-cultural characters, was now working for Larry Flynt, convicted panderer of obscenity and publisher of the most graphic mass-circulation sex rag on the stands.

Paul Krassner, 45, is a small man, slightly built. Though his hair is longish and his eyes flash intermittently, giving him the impression of youthfulness, he seems almost elderly with his somewhat battered-looking face and a delicate, almost fragile, physical presence. His voice is highish; like a little old man.

He began his career as a nightclub comedian in the tradition of Lenny Bruce and Mort Sahl. Though he shifted his energy from stand-up to writing, he has been a funnyman ever since.

He also has the reputation of being something of a kook, a five-star radical paranoid. His major creation, *The Realist*, which began in 1958 as an "anti-clerical" publication, evolved by the late '60s into a sounding-board for convoluted FBI/CIA conspiracy theories. By 1972 Krassner was describing Mae Brussell in *The Realist* as "Saint Mae" and his last published column (in *Crawdaddy*) before our interview, made the rather dubious connection between the bust of drug dealer Dennis Perone and the suicide of Art Linkletter's daughter due to LSD.

But in an interview two weeks before he took the *Hustler* job, we found Krassner completely rational, self-assured and delightfully witty. The revelations of Watergate have vindicated him, he felt. "Since everyone else is into conspiracy now," he said, "I can go back to being funny." Not a frivolous task, according to Krassner.

Sounding much like his one time good friend, Lenny Bruce, Krassner continued, "The comedian has the high mission in that he can serve as a demystifier. When something needs to be demystified, it's because people fear it. And laughter is a kind of antidote to fear. So if a comedian can make people laugh at what they're afraid of, it demystifies it. Also, when people laugh they get six times more oxygen than from ordinary breathing."

Krassner was a key figure in the counter-cultural movement of the '60s, a participant in the LSD experiments at Millbrook, a constant speaker at anti-war rallies and cofounder/namer of the Yippies. According to Krassner, the initial inspiration for a "celebration of life" at the 1968 Democratic convention came when "Abbie Hoffman and Anita Hoffman and I went to Florida for a vacation. We took acid and Lyndon Johnson was speaking on television and we said, 'We just have to go to Chicago!'"

Krassner described coining the word "yippie" at a meeting of radicals, including the Hoffmans and Jerry Rubin, who were making preliminary "celebration of life" plans, on Dec. 31, 1967. "I was getting real stoned on Columbia and I was trying to think of something that was necessary for the media. Then I had a flash, the kind of flash where you just knew it was pure knowledge, knowing it was a natural. First I had Youth International and I was looking for a word beginning with a 'p' so it would spell 'yip' and then 'yippies' would come from that. And then the word party came to me and it was so perfect because of the two meanings of the word party. Later that night I took acid and people thought I was crazy 'cause I was babbling, 'It's going to become a word.' You can't force your visions on anybody. You have to let them take their own course."

Some might argue that Krassner has gone well over the edge by becoming the

publisher of *Hustler*. Over the phone from his executive office at *Hustler* magazine, Paul Krassner explained his move.

*Describe how you became publisher of Hustler.*

I was at the *Hustler* Christmas party and Dick Gregory came up to me and said, "Larry's going to give you the whole thing." I didn't know what he meant but then Flynt got up and said that he was making me publisher of *Hustler*.

*But you said, when Flynt announced that he had been born again, that you wouldn't write for a religious magazine. What changed your mind?*

Well, at the party Flynt explained about his being born again. He said that Christ was not a better teacher, necessarily, than Buddha and that neither Christ nor Buddha were better than any individual. And that was the turning point for me in terms of his conversion because it obviously wasn't "this is the way" or "there is no other way."

Then Dick Gregory introduced me and I was up there being funny and then somehow the funniness led up to what my instincts were telling me and I said, "As long as Larry made the offer publicly, I'll accept publicly." 'Cause this was after I was making all these jokes about the scratch and sniff Virgin Mary and Flynt was laughing as hard as everyone else, so as long as his reverence wasn't going to interfere with my irreverence, I felt okay about it.

*How did you feel?*

I had been fasting for four days, so I was pretty high already. And the realization that after the kind of stuff that I had published in the '60s, you know, like "The Parts Left Out of the Kennedy Book," things which were considered in such incredibly bad taste and that now, in the '70s, I was being brought back as redeeming social value, it just blew my mind. I don't know how you can describe your mind being blown, but that's what happened.

*Has it occurred to you that Flynt might be using you to prevent further obscenity charges?*

Oh, I had an even more paranoid flash than that which was that I was being set up.

*Set up? For an obscenity bust?*

Yeah, then I realized that I was prepared to go to prison for what I had the right to do.

*But it does seem you are being used.*

Well, I said to myself, it's blatant that I'm being brought in as redeeming social value. But I don't feel used. Because it's totally open. I mean what I've just said, I've said in front of Flynt, in front of an audience and he laughed. It's mutual. I'm using him in the same sense he's using me.

*Well, do you really feel that since Flynt's conversion that he's really concerned about doing something positive with his magazine?*

He was concerned before. They did the stuff on child abuse before the conversion. So it was a direction he was already going in. I mean it was a gradual evolution on his part. He's always had a philosophical bent. It just got stronger with him.

*What do you think of Flynt?*

Even before I met him I knew him from phone conversations. I knew he was sharp. He's self-taught. He's got a strong sense of irreverence. We share an interest in Lenny Bruce. Larry Flynt is good company. I'd like to hang out with him even if I weren't working for him. It's like Castro. Before I went to Cuba I had a media image of him, even though I knew the media lied.

*How will Hustler change? The portrayal of women, for example?*

That's going to change. I mean I don't see anything wrong with erotic material, but women being there alone as masturbatory objects in a meat rack context was exploitative and it's going to evolve into something else.

*How?*

First of all, there won't be just women alone and they'll be in different settings. One thing we're planning to do is Bible

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